THE
MINISTER
OF
STATE
In Two Parts.

Written by Monſieur de SILHON,

Secretary to the late

Cardinal RICHELIEU.

Engliſhed by *H. H.*

Tandem didici animas Sapientiores fieri quieſcendo.

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To the Kings most Excellent MAJESTY.

SIR,

THE Women of *Rome* offer'd Jewels, The *Greeks* Silver and Gold, *Sylla* his Bloud, and *Jeptha* his onely Child for Victory; But your Majesty made no such Offerings, And yet obtained a Greater Victory than any of them; A Victory without Bloud: And as it is th'Higheſt Victory that hath been gained, So, in forgiving Your Enemies, Your Majesty hath taken th'Higheſt Revenge; And as very Acceptable to God, Becauſe Forgiveneſs proceeds from th'Heart, And, that God, for Chriſts Sake hath forgiven Us.

The Prince that is Feared hath cauſe to Fear, And, 'tis ſafer for Princes to be Beloved for their Clemency, than Feared for their Puniſhments; The Law of the *Jewes* was the Law of Fear, But of Chriſtians, the Law of Love; And th'Enemies of *Cæſar* did more envie the Pard'ning of the *Pompeians*, than the Killing of *Pompey*; *Cæſar* is very Eminent in Hiſtory for Pard'ning of Injuries, *Alexander* for giving of Rewards; Yet to th'Unthankfull perſon *Alexander* would not give a Reward, nor *Cæſar* Pardon an Injury: And ther's nothing that moves God to be leſs Carefull of us, than Ingratitude; which like the Sea, turns Freſh ſprings into Salt water, and may mind them of their Duty and Gratitude, who are Guilty of the contrary.

To

To preſent Your Majeſty with a Serious Frenchman in an Engliſh Habit is t'invert the Mode and Humour of Court, And t'expoſe my Confidence to Your Majeſties Accurate Judgement in th'Elegancies and Criticiſmes of th'*Engliſh* and *French* Languages, which are much Improved by the Learning and Induſtry of them, who delight in adding t'other mens Inventions; And, were not this Age Curious in th' Advance of Sciences & Arts, They would have their Cadences, and be ſubject to Mortality with other things; Yet, they that buſie themſelves too much upon Speculative ſubtilties, forſake the ſolid Foundations of Religion, and pry ſo farr into the Nature and unrevealed purpoſes of God, as to forget the Nature and Duty of Man.

The Subject matter of my Author, is fitted to the Meridian of Stateſmen and of State Affaires, and communicates not onely Politique Eſſayes, but abſtruſe Philoſophical Notions, which are of Familiar converſe with Your Majeſty, whoſe Experience in the Intricacies of Government gives the Rule of Conduct to Your Privie Councellors; And what was ſaid of the French King *Lewis* th'Eleventh, is verifi'd in Your Majeſty, That Your Majeſtie carries Your Councell with You whereſoe're Your Majeſty Goes.

That Your Majeſty may be th'Happy Inſtrument of Good to Church and State is the daily prayer of

Your Majeſties moſt Obedient, and moſt

Faithfull Subject and Servant,

HENRY HERBERT.

TO

ADVERTISEMENT.

READER,

I Have ſome Conſiderations to repreſent unto thee concerning this VVork, whereupon I beſeech thee to caſt thy eyes. The firſt is in relation to the Matter, which is compoſed of Reaſonings and Examples. As to the Reaſonings, thou ſhalt know them to be wholly mine, and a pure product of my witt, and by conſequence imperfect, and taſtes of the weakeneſſe of the principle from which it is derived. When I diſcourſe of paſt Occurrences, and of things hapned in the Raignes of the King, If the true motives have not alwaies been encountred by me, nor the eſſentiall cauſes of their ſucceſſe; I have nothing to ſay to thee, but that I had not the ſpirit of Divination; That I have not received remembrances or inſtructions from any perſon; And that th' Actions of Princes are like great Rivers, the beginning and ſprings whereof few perſons have ſeen, though an infinite of perſons ſee the courſe and progreſſe of them.

If any perſon thinks my Judgement too free, chiefly when I ſpeake of the Pope and the matters of Rome, I beſeech him to conſider that gentler Conſequences cannot be drawn from th' Examples that are brought; If th'examples are falſe, I have not invented them; the ſprings are well knowne: There's cauſe nevertheleſſe to praiſe God that ſome of the Paſtors who have governed his Church have not been ſo black as they are painted. If they are true, there's cauſe to admire the Divine Providence in preſerving his Church from decay and ſpot, in the time of corruption of ſome of its members, and in maintaining of it in health, the plague being ſo neer it. That is to ſay, as I underſtand it, that nothing was altered of the meanes which God hath appointed to guide us to our ſupernaturall end. That the Doctrine of Faith which is one of the Principles that makes us act Chriſtianly, and which hath Workes for her neareſt end, is alwaies the ſame. That the Sacraments which conferr and increaſe grace in us by virtue of the Inſtitution of Jeſus Chriſt, and not by virtue of what we bring unto it of ours, as of a meritorious cauſe, are not changed for the number, their matter, or their forme; That the permanent and incorruptible State in theſe two things is found only

in that holy Hierarchy which makes that mysticall Body of Jesus Christ; which is composed of a head that represents it, and of many principall & subalterne members who hold of that head, and with an admirable dependency and union amongst themselves. That it never hapned that this Head, and those members to whom it belongs to guide others, have together, and with a common consent, fayled against these two things; and that it will never happen to th'end of the world, at least if the Promises of God are eternall, and his Word unchangeable; and therefore no person is to wonder, if out of the Church there be no salvation, since the Church only containes that means that brings us thither, and preserves inviolable the substance and number of the Sacraments, and the purity of th'Evangelicall doctrine. Moreover, and for what respecteth every member of the Church in particular, That God hath left them in the hands of their counsell to beleeve or live as they please; that hee hath put before them fire and water, that they may make their choyce, and that he imposeth no necessity upon them, but leaves them the power of their will, that's to say, the power to follow that good or to forsake it, to doe evill or to abstaine from it.

When I speake then with liberty of the vices of some Popes, *and of the corruption of some of their Agents; I doe not thinke to wrong Religion, nor to offend the Church. The Cardinall* Baronius *relates, with much more severity or lesse allay then I doe, the abuses which overflowed the Court of Rome when two famous whores* Theodosia, *and* Morosia, *governed it, and the Popes of that time; A man must not alwaies set himselfe against known truths: Who support ill causes lose their credit, & make themselvs to be suspected, when they have good ones to defend; & resemble certain persons who being equally honest to all the world are not so to any person; and putting neither difference nor measure to their civilities, and treating with the same honours and complements, the persons of small merit and base condition, oblige not so much the one as they wrong th' others. Nevertheless if I am not deceived, I doe exercise such a moderation in speaking of Popes, and so well support what is of Gods institution in condemning what proceeds from the weakness and from the corruption of man, that I am so farre from beleeving my selfe guilty of blame, that I think, without vaunt, to have merited somewhat from the Holy Chayre, if without passion judgement be passed upon me. Howsoever if I flatter my selfe in my apprehensions, and if the love of my worke deceives me, I submit with a compleat submission to the judgement of Superiours, and of them who have power to regulate my opinions, and to impose lawes upon my understanding. What they shall condemne, I condemne it; I doe now retract what they shall not esteeme good, and I have not so little of Christianity as not to know that tis better to obey and exercise a necessary vertue, then to make a noyse in the world and gaine a vaine reputation of spirit, in defending an ambiguous Opinion. Let this be said in passing-by, and by way of prevention.*

As

Advertizement.

As for the Examples which make out th'other part of the matter of this work; I adviſe thee Reader, that if the Authors from whom I have taken them are deceived, I will not be their ſecurity: If I have miſtaken my ſelfe in what I have taken from them, I confeſſe freely that that fault is voluntary; that 'tis a defect for which a remedy might have been found in conſulting with knowing men or bookes, but that I have not done it for want of leiſure or induſtry: If any perſon take it ill that I doe make ſo frequent uſe of Spaniſh Examples, I beſeech him to conſider that I doe it for two or three reaſons. The firſt, that its the French humour to be more ſenſible of ſtrange things than them of their country. The ſecond, in ſo much that they will ſerve the more to make knowne the Conduct of the Spaniards; which is a neceſſary knowledge to the Agents of other Princes, ſince that Nation holds other Chriſtian nations in perpetuall exerciſe, and obligeth them to be with her or againſt her. The third, inſomuch that, ſpeaking generally, that Nation underſtands th' Art to governe and command men better then any Nation in the world. If I ſpeak in many places with prayſe of S. the Cardinall; bee it conſidered apart from the intereſt of any perſon, that I take nothing from another to give to him: That I do attribute alwaies to the King the chiefe glory of good ſucceſſe; That I doe repreſent him as the principall and firſt cauſe of the good fortune of France, *and that the prayſes which I give to S. the Cardinall, are applyed unto him in ſuch a manner that they rebound nevertheleſſe upon the King. That I condemne not in particular any living perſon. That I commend others whom I meet with in my diſcourſe who deſerve it, and give honour to vertue whereſoever I finde it: That I doe report what paſſed under the Government of that great Miniſter of State by way of Example, and as I doe relate the Actions of a* Ferrand Gonſalve, *or of a* Gaſton of Foix, *of a* Prince of Parma, *or of a* Duke of Guyſe, *that I adde nothing to th' Actions; that I ſpeake not but of the things wee have touched and ſeene, whereof our ſenſes are Judges, and whereunto all Nations give Evidence. I doe but reaſon upon it, let it be examined whether my reaſonings are weake and ill grounded: and if they who take offence have better Moralls and better Politiques then mine; I doe not pretend to hinder them of the light or of the value they ſhall put upon them; with theſe Precautions. It cannot be thought ſtrange that I prayſe a Perſon who hath rendred ſo great Services to the King, which are known to all the world, who hath ſo much merited of the State and of Religion; that our Neighbours and they that love us not, have an infinite eſteeme for him; and that he is my Maſter.*

It remains to ſpeake of the forme of the Worke, which is the ſtyle: Whereupon, Reader, *I doe timely adviſe thee that I am not enflamed with eloquence: That I have laboured Things more then Words: That I have not read* Quintilian, *nor the Rhetorique of* Ariſtotle, *unleſſe it be that part where he ſpeakes of the paſſions of Men, and of the affections of divers Ages. And therefore, if there be*

be any thing that reliſhes of this Art, know that it entred by chance, and ſlipped in by accident: That 'tis a plant that growes of it ſelfe, and without being ſet; and that I have done like the needle of a Watch which markes the howers, without knowing of it. Notwithſtanding I confeſſe that I have not neglected to give it ornaments after my faſhion; that's to ſay, naturall; and that I had ſtrewed more flowers if I had had them, or more leaſure to have gathered them; Thou mayſt finde there ſome inequality, and ſome places that are not ſo ſtrong or ſo well digeſted as others. But 'tis, that all the matters or the manner wherewith they ought to be handled are not capable of the ſame force and graces. It goes much better, when the ſubject carries us, and that we have wind and tide, then when we cannot move but by the ſtrength of Armes and Oares. And the Maiſters of fortifications ſay, that there are places upon the Earth which cannot be made ſtrong; not for want of Art, but by reaſon of the vitious platforme and ſituation.

I beſeech thee alſo, not to ſtart back at th' Entry, and at the reading of the firſt diſcourſe which hath ſome Rudeneſſe in it, whereof I am very ſenſible and which is not ſufficiently poliſhed nor adorned.

THE

THE MINISTER OF STATE.

First Discourse.

That, An Excellent Minister of State is an Evidence of the Fortune of a Prince, and the Instrument of the happinesse of a State.

First Book.

IN the course of Affairs, 'tis certain, that Designes onely are in the power of man, and that all Events are disposed by some Power above him, and which being infinitely wise, doth nothing by Chance. Th' hazard, to which so many things are attributed, is a work of our brain, and none of the Principles of governing the World. All things are guided without our help, in Light and Justice; and the blind goddesse, that is called *Fortune*, is a fancy, which Philosophy hath not adored, and Religion hath abolished in the destruction of Idolatry. Th' invention nevertheless hath not been unprofitable. The miserable, charge the causes of their misery upon it; and th' imprudent, th' effects of their ill conducts: Her name is in the mouths of all persons, the wise and unwise do equally employ it; and use is made of it sometimes, to be the better understood, and not to depart from a received custome, nor from the tearms that are practised. But to declare what 'tis; The Power we speak of, is no other thing, than God himself; insomuch that he undertakes the government of free causes,

Book I. and disposeth of them to his ends, whether they be conformable to theirs, or contrary to them. And as the first *Mobile*, without destroying the naturall motion of the other Heavens, doth make them subject to his, and carries them from th' East to the West; so God doth manage in such sort the actions of the Creatures, which work with liberty, that without violating their freedom, and by the encounter of other causes, wherein he doth cast them, infallibly drawes th' effect which he proposed to himself, and which from humane foresight is often litle expected.

In a word, the workman that observes the rules of his Art, is never disappointed of his intention; the Painter, that perfectly understands the mixtures of Colours, and the proportions of Figures, drawes at pleasure exquisite Pictures; th' Architect, that casts his designes by the rules of Architecture, makes them happily to prosper. But the faireſt operations of Man, wherein his nobleſt part hath most interest, are not solely capable of attaining their end, and th' effect aimed at. *Hannibal* acted the full duties of a brave Captain, and yet was overcome by *Scipio*. *Cicero* forgets nothing of the power of an excellent Oratour, yet *Milon* was condemned; and *André Doria* sees the Fleet of his Master perish in the Port of *Argiers*, notwithstanding his skill and experience in Maritime affairs. But what God addes to the Principles that are in us, th' occasions which He causeth to arise for us, the means which he suscitates, th' obstacles which he diverts in our favour, and all th' assistance which He gives us, to make our desires to prosper, is, that which we call, Good fortune, and them, Happy, which receive it. But this good successe doth not alwaies accompany Justice, and Holy enterprises, as God doth not alwaies oppose unjust and violent designes; th' Infidells have often triumphed over th' Armies of Christians, and of Catholicks. The most holy of our Kings hath been unhappy in his two Voyages beyond the Seas; and the Cause of God, for which he made War, and th' Interest of Religion, could not secure him from prison, nor from the plague. On the contrary, nothing is read comparable to the successe of Usurpators; nothing put a stop to *Alexander*'s successes, but his death; and a Prince, for whose ambition the world was too little, and that had the vanity to think, that there was not matter enough therein for his courage; had fortune so favourable, that she covered his faults, and rendred his failings happy. *Cæsar* had most successe, in the most unjust War he ever made; he had no more to do than to go and conquer, in dissipating the *Romane* Common-wealth. She that gave the

Law

Law to all the Earth, fell, in lesse time, than is laid out in taking of a City; and three years have destroyed the works of many ages. *Attila* and *Tamberlain* have passed like lightning in their conquests; and the Race of *Ottomans*, which takes away Religion from God, and liberty from men, hath obtained so many victories, and extended so far Its Dominions, for these hundred years and upwards, that no forraigne force seemes sufficient and capable for the present, to abate the forces of that Empire; and that it hath nothing more to fear but its own greatnesse and excessive powers. The reason of this diversity is, that God doth not alwaies work miracles, and disorders not the order of things for the love of honest men; and as it is very reasonable to rayse their courage and confirme their hopes, that God should sometimes visibly hasten to their releife, it is also most conformable to the lawes of his providence, and to the sweetnesse of his conduct, that second causes be suffred for the most part to act according to their capacity and extent of their force: and therefore, in order to that, the weake to give way to the stronger; that a lesser virtue, politique I meane, obey the greater; and that they, who have notorious advantages of their enemies, have also upon them notorious succesſe: otherwise truly he should oblige himselfe to repaire all the faults of them who have good intentions. And if goodnesse alone should be successfull in the world, prudence should be banished from the civill life, and industry from the trayne of affaires. Book I.

As to the successes of Usurpators, It is easie to give the reason, if we search the causes of the change of States, and of the Revolution of Empires. Tis certaine that the greatest & most Extended are not alwaies the firmest, nor the most durable: on the contrary, as the most delicate fruits are sooner spoyled then others, and a perfect health is an instance of a disease approaching; it happens also that States which are in the flower of their force, and at the last round of their happinesses, are not farre from their fall; Pleasure enters with wealth; power produceth ambition, & these two passions, which aspect alwaies their ends without exception to meanes, draw with them so many other evills, that of necessity those unhappy States must perish & be translated into a new form of Government: In this fatall conjuncture, if a person of courage & of ambition to conquer, take Armes, he finds the matter ready prepared; God seconds his designe, and abandons them unto him whom ambition had divided, and whom delicacies had deprived of Judgement, and affeminated their courage, not that he doth inspire the conquerors with unjust thoughts

nor

Book I. nor with those furious motions which thrust them on to usurp what belongs to others, and to violate the rights of humane society; but acted of their owne accord, and by their owne election, he may lawfully favour them; and his justice will not suffer many good actions of theirs to passe unrewarded, nor them unpunished who have abused his graces.

But when he makes choice of a person to repaire the disorders of the world, or for the good of a particular State; Then his care is shewed in furnishing him with necessary principles to undertake great matters. The thoughts are put in his soule by God, and he gives the power to execute them; he troubles and confounds his enemies, and leades him as by the hand to victories and triumphs; and one of the greatest expedients whereof he serves himselfe for this purpose, is, to rayse unto him, excellent men, to whom he communicates his cares, and who help him to beare the weight of Affaires.

And as the operations of the soul do themselves good or ill according to the conditions of the organs and quality of their temper; the prosperity or adversity of Princes depends on them, in whose hands their authority is placed, and who dispose of their power. *Alexander* had never conquered *Asia*, nor made the *Indies* to tremble but for *Ephestion*, *Parmenio*, and *Clytus*; *Cæsar* gained many battails by the hands of his Lieutenants; and the fayrest Empire of the world which ambition and ill of the times had divided into three parts, was reduced under the dominion of *Augustus* by the Counsell of *Mecænas*, and by the Valour of *Agrippa*; *Justinian* triumphed over *Persia*, and destroyed the *Vandals* in *Africa*, and the *Goths* in *Italy*, by the aide of *Belisarius* and *Narcete*.

The Count of *Dunois*, *Pothon*, the *Hire*, and the Mayde *Jane* delivered *France* from the invasion of the *English*; And the first Man of the past-age of whom it may truly be reported, that he was too happy for a Christian Prince, hath by his conduct, or with the ayde of his Ministers of State, taken *Rome* and *Thunis*, a Pope, a King of *France*; given chase to *Soly man*, and made it appeare to *Germany* that it was to be conquered. That very Prince who was so intelligent in all things, and had added so many acquired qualities to the gifts of nature, tooke the liberty to tell his Son in presenting to him the Secretary *Eraso*, that he gave him some-what that was greater than his States, and than the Crownes which he had resigned unto him. By such sort of persons, Principalities and Monarchies have been first founded. And for the love of them the people have voluntarily renounced their Liberties; and they are the persons who renew also under their Sove-

raignes

raigns, the naturall and primitive order of command, and of that obedience which is amongst men: And truly 'twas very reasonable (since a difference ought to be made amongst them) that Merit should begin to make it: The Society to which they are born, and without which they cannot subsist, is a Consort so delicate, and a Fabrick composed of so many pieces, that if it be not guided by a dextrous prudence, and maintained by a soveraign vertue, a very little thing confounds and disorders it. Book. I.

And insomuch that they who attain to such a condition are Extraordinary, but not Immortal, and have not alwaies successors of their virtue, as they have of their dignity; It happens ordinarily that they leave, in favour of the people, a representation of their reason, and as a Monument of their Philosophy, The Laws and good Orders: And again, because all Laws are not good in all times, and that they cannot provide against all occurrences and the accidents of life; 'tis necessary that he raise also some wise Person, whose prudence may supply the defects, and give them such a just temper and wholesome proportion as may best fit the Time, Men, and Affairs.

'Tis then a most certain truth, that good Ministers of state are the glory of their Princes, and happiness of the people: on the contrary, the wicked are the shame of th'one, and dispair of th'other: They are the naturall principles of the Corruption of States; all ill humours are awakened under their conduct; they serve for pretence, to the spight of discontented, and to the disturbance of factious persons; and the people who are troubled to permit the Government of honest men, are carried to License, and enclined to Rebellion, when they fall under the power of those who are dishoneſt. It seems to them that 'tis enough to have one Master, to whom necessary obedience ought to be paid, and whose yoak God doth oblige them to carry how grievous soever it be made; but to obey them who are not their Soveraigns when they do them hurt, when they triumph in their vexations, and nourish themselves in their blood; 'Tis a sad necessity for them, and a hard essay of patience. In effect, *If* Aristotle *hath defined a Tyrant to be, The person who hath his peculiar interest more before his eyes, then the good of his subjects*; Into the hands of how many Tyrants do the miserable people fall, when they are governed by corrupt Ministers of State? and nevertheless 'tis a Flayl which they seldom want; And as the Prince looks upon the State as a Wife that belongs to him, and which cannot be taken from him: There are Ministers of State to be found, who cast their eyes upon

Book I. it as a Miſtreſs, whom they endeavour to ſtrip naked whilſt they do enjoy her.

Second Diſcourſe.

That th'art to govern is doubtfull, and difficult; and receives a great reliefe from Learning.

'Tis not ſtrange that ſo few honeſt men are found in the frequent occaſions of ſinning; nor that the knowledge of governing ſhould be ſo rare when 'tis ſo difficult. The reaſon of State which is the matter, is ſo perplexed and ambiguous, and th'affairs have ſo many lights which confound our ſight, that 'tis no wonder, if we are often troubled to chuſe our party, and if the choyce made in ſo great a confuſion be rather a ſtroak of chance, and triall of our liberty, than a rational election; Moreover the greateſt part of politick precepts which are left us, and reduced into a forme of ſcience, are ſuch abſtruſe things, that if Nature or Experience give not the art of Application, they become pernicious or vain; inſtead very often of making an able man, they make onely a Pedant, they communicate preſumption rather then wiſdome, they make many to wander, rather then diſcover unto them the neareſt way; and for an uncertain reformation which they promiſe, they confound and alter all things by the novelties they introduce. The way alſo by Examples, is ſo deceitfull, and the paſt makes ſo ill a judgement of the future, that no certainty can be raiſed out of it: And as two Faces equally beautiful, or two Dayes of compleat reſemblance are rarely ſeen; ſo the condition of affairs is alwaies various, where the Vertue of the perſons that mannage them is not alike, nor their fortune equall. And again, as there's not much cauſe for him to deliberate, who hath not two faces, nor a party to follow, nor reaſons to diſpoſe him; There are none alſo, who want examples and accidents to favour them.

The *Pope*, the *Duke* of *Milan*, and the *King* of *Naples* make a league againſt *Florence*: To divert the tempeſt, *Laurence* of *Medicis*, ſeeks the laſt; caſts himſelf at his diſcretion, and by that brave confidence withdrawes him from the league, and prevents the lightning that was ready to fall, and might have burned his Country.

Charles the eighth entred *Italy* like a *Torrent*, which drowned all that it encountred; nothing made reſiſtance; and *Florence* that was on his way trembled for fear of her liberties. In this fatall fear and conſternation of ſpirits, *Peter* of *Medicis*,

Son

Son of *Larance*, goes to meet the victorious, and casts himselfe unhappily into his nets; Th'example which he would have followed, was destructive to him, and he returned not till he had put the keys of the States of the Common-wealth into our hands, till the Country was plundred of all without, and in danger to be lost, if the generosity of the Citizens had not been greater than the resolution of *Charles*, and than the fortune of that unwise Conqueror. Book I.

When the Sr. of *Lautree* undertook th'enterprise of *Naples*, *Hugo Moneado* resolved to defend onely the City, and to abandon the rest of the Kingdom. The Duke of *Alva* took a contrary course, when the Sr. of *Groyse* assaulted him there, and by th'advice of *Ferrand Gonsalve*, resolved to dispute all, and to destroy us by a multitute of Sieges; both resolutions prospered, and two very different Counsells had the same end, and the same effect, The victory. There have been some whose single presence, and first words, have instantly appeased th'insurrection of the people. And there have been others whom this monster hath suddenly devoured, to whom they have not given the leasure to speak nor to open the mouth. How often by this meanes hath *Cæsar* and *Germanicus* appeased the tumults of the Souldiers, and the sedition of Armies? And how many others have perished in the same way, whose sight enflamed the humours that were but moved, enraged those that were but provoked, and caused in them a desire of satiating themselves with their blood, who before murmured onely against their Governments In like manner they that have condemned *Henry* the third for leaving *Paris* in that notorious revolt, which is called the *Baricados*, have at least left as much cause to resist their judgement as they had to condemn a Prince; who chose rather to retire, then to expose himselfe to an evill that had no remedy if it happened; who permitted his people to be felons, rather then to put them in a condition of being Parricides; and that would not willingly suffer their faults to be compleated, nor that the greatness of their crimes should make them seek, in the death of him they had offended, impunity, which they believed was not to be found in his clemency: But 'tis the errour of the greatest part of men, to exclaim alwaies against th'unfortunate: There's no disgrace, whereof they that suffer it are not guilty in the opinion of the pople. Of all the expedients which they had in hand, they were the best which they had quitted, when those they had taken did not prosper; and no old man ever dyed, were he never so decayed or decrepit, to whom his life had not been lengthned; if such a thing had

Book I. not been done, or ſome other thing had been done. And though it thus fall out, it muſt nevertheleſs be confeſſed, that nothing doth ſooner poliſh a well compoſed underſtanding, then Policy and Hiſtory, nor that any thing is more profitable for it then converſation with the dead, and abſent perſons: therein he knows in a little time th'affairs of all Ages; there he enjoyes the experience of all the great perſons that have preceded; and there alſo he finds lights which hinder him often to fall, and which make out the dangers unto him which he ought to paſs; and th'ambuſhes which he ought to avoid: at leaſt by the favour of Books and Studies, he gains that which prepares him againſt ſurpriſes. And ſudden accidents, give not him the diſturbance they give to ignorant perſons; ſince nothing is ſo new unto him, whereof he hath not read ſomething approaching, or like unto it. The life of man is ſo ſhort, or ſo vexed, that it hardly holds out for five or ſix important Negotiations; and ordinarily they who have but the ſingle common ſenſe to act, ceaſe to live, or have not health when they have experience: on the contrary, they whom ſtudie prepares, and are guided by Philoſophy, proſper quickly if they meet with very profitable diſcourſe. They are dextrous ſo ſoon as they touch upon buſineſſe, and have the ſame advantage over the firſt; as in Painting, they have, who enjoy the ſcience of Deſign and Proportion, over them who have nothing of Acquiſition when they begun to paint. Of this, we have, without going from the modern time, illuſtrious examples, and eminent perſons. *Monlue*, Biſhop of *Valence*, under *Francis* the ſecond, and under *Charles* the ninth. *Pinac*, Arch-biſhop of *Lyons*, under *Henry* the third; and the *Cardinal* of *Oſſat*, under the ſame Prince, and under *Henry* the Great, have been conſummated almoſt aſſoon in buſineſſe, as known in Councills: And for the war, the Marqueſs of *Peſcary*, who was ſo brave, and whom the League of *Italy* judged worthy to be oppoſed to *Charles* the fifth, when he was moſt happy. The laſt Prince of *Orenge*, whoſe life had been too glorious if it had been ſhorter, and if fortune had ſuffered him to have periſhed in the relief of *Bergen Opſon*. The Marqueſs of *Spinola*, who deſerved at firſt to command th'Armies of *Spain*, and to be the Rivall of the laſt Prince of *Orenge* in military ſcience: The greateſt number of theſe great perſons, I ſay, owe to Books, a part of the honour which they have gained without watching, and of that high reputation which they have ſo timely obtained.

But why ſhould we ſearch into the Age paſt, and amongſt ſtrangers for proofs of this truth? ſince we have them ſo clear

clear and visible in the person of *Sr. the Cardinal of Richlieu*: 'Tis true, that Nature hath given him all she had to give, to make him perfect; & that she hath powred out upon him with ful hands, her favour and riches. But 'tis true also, that he hath laboured very hard to compleat himselfe, and that study and meditation have acquired unto him almost all that was wanting to nature, and all that could be expected from experience. Th'affairs have served more for matter to his understanding in the exercise of it, than for occasion to instruct it: He knew how to command before he had ever obeyed; and there's nothing so great in Peace and Warre, which was difficult unto him, when he had undertaken it. We will make, God assisting, in another place an expres discourse of the profits of knowledge. Book. I.

The third Discourse.

That the knowledge of the Moral, is a necessary preparation for the Politique.

THere's no question but that the knowledg of Manners is a necessary preparative for the Civil knowledge; and that they who aspire to this without being furnish'd with the other, may be resembled to sick persons who undertake to run before they have the force to go. The conduct of man in his particular, is an abstracted picture of the Government of States: In all things there are difficulties to be surmounted, and enemies to be overcomne. A command, and an obedience are there to be established; labours within and without are to be exercised, and a felicity is to be there gained, as th'end of both lifes; wherefore I will speak here a word of the Morall, and of its usage. The matter is thorny, but it shall be profitable; if it be not agreeable, it shall be wholesome; and if there be neither colours nor perfumes to delight the senses, there shall be substance, and truth, for the satisfaction of th'understanding, and for discovery of reason. However, the discourse shall not be tedious, because it shall be very short.

The Morall then respects Man all alone, and out of the tumult of affairs and publique agitation, it considers the two parts whereof he is framed, and that strange Engine which is composed of body and spirit, of sense and understanding. It acts in maintaining th'order which ought to be preserved betwixt two so different natures and extremities. It would have the noblest to command, the most illuminated

Book I. to govern; that profit give place to honesty; that vertue be preferred before pleasure. And that what is most conformable to the dignity of Man, hold also the first rank in his inclinations, and be the principall object of his cares, and the chiefest endeavour of his life. In this order consists his glory and naturall felicity. The contrary, that's to say, when the composition hath so obstructed th'understanding, and seized upon the faculties, that it becomes slave to the body, makes out a fearfull confusion, and a lamentable *Anarchy*. The middle condition is a state of civil War, wherein common persons are alwaies engaged, and from which wise men are not ever exempted. 'Tis betwixt reason and passions, th'one whereof is the property of th'understanding, and resides in the chiefest place of the soul: And th'others are formed in the low Region, and in that brutall capacity which follows onely th'impressions of sense, and is concerned onely in the good of th'Animal part. They are raised and enflamed, as th'object that provokes is violent and rapid.. But 'tis not necessary, that in themselves there should be that violence and force which stirs up th'appetite; it sufficeth, that 'tis received in th'imagination where it enters. There it takes the forme and the colour as pleaseth to that fantastick faculty; there it swels or abates, as it seems good to that Fool. In one place it communicates joy, in another it raiseth sadness: Now 'tis but an Atome, which is hardly felt, and which doth but scarcely touch upon the superficies of the soul; and in four moments after 'tis a Monster, which teares and divides it into pieces, which makes havoke in all its powers, and which brings trouble even to the Will which it would corrupt, and even to Reason also which it endeavours to suborne; so certain is it, that the imagination is supple and various, and that things act not in us according to Their measure, but according to Hers. 'Tis true, that the objects which are agreeable to the sense, and promise them their felicity, are to be feared. And there's no imagination so weighty nor dull, which is not raised; nor appetite so cold and so mortified, which is not heated; moreover the disturbance is sometimes so great, and the tempest so furious, that it is not in the power of the soul to quiet it: but in case she stand firm in the desire of good, which is most convenient for her, and whereof sheh ath made choice; honour is alwaies on her side, and to overcome; It sufficeth not to be overcomne, and to dissent from pressing temptations. In conclusion, after many combats and defeats of such nature, she will remain peaceable, the lights of the Imagination shall be abated. The Appetite shall have no force longer to re-

rebel, Reason will raign with resistance, and the man that is arrived to such a state, deserves of naturall right to be preferred before other men: lets pass further.

The Morall requires not onely Man within himselfe, and engaged in the disorders of the body and spirit of reason and passions; but considers him also in his conversation and in the Crowd. For that end he teacheth him a vertue, which is called Justice, which instructs him to live well with his Neighbour, and inclines him to render unto him what is his due, and which for the present is wholly almost imployed about the division of Riches, and th'introduction which hath been made in the world, of Mine and Thine. Introduction nevertheless very necessary for the good of society, for the ornament of the civill life, and for the plenty of all such things as are commodious for man. The Legislators and Founders of States, have regulated this justice; and in regard that she appeared to them a little too much in common, and that it seemed to them a very dangerous thing to leave the conduct thereof to every mans judgement and inclination: theyhave bounded her in certain Laws & customs which they have made: they have established publique persons to distribute it; they have put the sword into their hand to make men affraid of it, and have given it a scabberd with the name of a Prince, and of his Authority, to gain it the more respect.

But insomuch that notwithstanding the great care hath been taken to adjust the Rule, it remaines imperfect, and that the foresight of humane understanding is not so great as the variety of cases which interpose in Traffique; an honest man will not stay there, he will have recourse also for the regulating of his actions, and forming of his life to the fountain of Equity, and to the first spring of Justice, which is the Law of nature, or to walk after a more certain guid, and by a light free from corruption; he will follow the dictates of Religion and motions of Charity, which is the end of Christianity, which is the fulnesse of other Laws, and the definitive measure of all goodthings. He must have a respect for the formalities of ordinary justice; but he must not believe that they make up the perfection of a Christian, nor of a Philosopher. He must know that the Laws of Conscience extend themselves further then hers; and that they indure a severer and more general obligation; In effect, if conscience onely were in the world, we should be dispensed of many things which we are bound to do, we should have probity good cheap; the duty of an honest man would be very large, and the way that leads to heaven would not be so long and straight as the Bible describes it.

The

The fourth Diſcourſe.

How that ſaying of the Philoſophers is to be underſtood, that, Who commands ought to be wiſer and better then the perſon that obeyes.

'TIs true then, that the Morall is one of the foundations whereupon the Politique is raiſed, and ought to prepare them that aſpire to the Government of States, and to that direction of the people. From thence is taken that common ſaying of Philoſophers, *That who commands ought to be better then the perſon that obeyes*; *and that, The Government of men belongs not to him that is a ſlave to his paſſions, nor to govern another unleſſe he hath the better ſight.* It ſerves not therefore a Prince to have ordinary intelligence, or a common qualification of manners: But to ſatisfie his duty, and fill up worthily his charge, it ſeems that he ought to have a more ſublime reaſon, and diſpoſition of will more perfect then his ſubjects; This propoſition nevertheleſs is not to be underſtood literally and in a very rigorous ſenſe. That was good in the founding of States, and in the firſt liberty which the people had to make choice of their Superiours and Maſters. Then it was neceſſary that the Election ſhould be made of extraordinary perſons, whoſe merit ought to be as high as the dignity to which they are called. But for Soveraign Princes who come by ſucceſſion, who are born with the Character of a Prince, and are received without choice; they muſt be taken as God ſends them, in wrath, or in the love he hath to his people, which ought to be ſubmitted unto them. But whoſoever they are, they cannot alwayes be perfect at th'inſtant of Raigning, nor have that force of reaſon, nor temper of manners which the Philoſophers require in them that govern; Prudence, and other morall and politique vertues are not born with us, and come not of themſelves. They muſt be gained with meditation and exerciſe, and by conſequence with time and yeares. And though the principles are in our ſouls, and the ſeed in our reaſon, they remain barren till they are cultivated, and, if pains be not taken to preſerve them, they are ſmothered in the ſeeds of evill which are in our ſenſes, and in the corruption of our nature; The intention then of the Philoſophers, is, that the vertues of Princes are of more eſteem then the vertues of particular perſons, in regard that they have a greater extent of exerciſe, and a more univerſall influence; that they are more communicable; that they dart their beams at greater diſtance; that their bounty attracts more imitation, and that it is not ſo eaſie to com-

command, as perfectly to obey; nor to lead as to follow; That if such great qualities are not to be found in their person, if their birth be unhappy, and if the matter whereof they are made cannot receive such divine formes, they ought at least to be in them of their Council, who act with their Princes, in the conduct of Affaires. Book. I.

When the Prince is stupid or depraved in manners; when they are contrary to the function of his charge, and to the dignity he doth exercise; when they move directly, and of their proper motion to the ruine of their subjects; What can be expected from such a Government? if th'infection hath also gained upon the Ministers of State, if they resemble their Master, if they do not counterpoise his vices; And if th'evill be entertained by the multitude of evill persons, such was the Councell of *Rehoboam*, when he called to Councill onely young and debosshed, instead of ancient persons, who had been eye-witnesses of the Government of his Father, and saw that wisdom acted which was infused without the discourse of Reason, and the cares of Experience. This nevertheless is not extraordinary in the world, and it happens but too often that such as approach the Persons of Princes, study not so much to be ministers of their dignities, as instruments of their passions; They are rather their Corrupters then Counsellors; that th'imploy Vice when Vertue is unprofitable to advance them, and that they esteem nothing base or dishoneſt that may satisfie Ambition, or assure their fortune; And though the way they take, lead to precipices, and that there are many fresh and sensible examples of them who have therein ruined themselves; that makes no impression upon their minds: The ill fortune of others concerns them not, and they have so good opinion of themselves, that they imagine to have better conduct, or better fortune to warrant their behaviour. And truly although in a sea so tempestuous, as the Court, and where tempests are frequent; they see also by consequence that shipwracks are ordinary there; the pieces nevertheleſſe of that wrack are so faire, that they seem to them of greater value, then the condition from whence they had been taken, and then the advantages of their birth. 'Tis true, that Corruption sometimes is so extream in the soul of a Prince, and his Manners changed into so profound a debosshery, that Ministers of State are compelled to abate of the severity of vertue in treating with him; They bauk those passions which they could not safely assault in a straight line; They suspend the reproofe of vice, where roots were not to be stocked up; They practise diversions, when the sick person cannot

Book I. endure Remedies, and of two Evills, in one whereof they must undoubtedly fall, they divert him towards the lesser, for fear his inclination should force him to the greater evill; A strange unhappinesse, that to prevent Incests and Adulteries, they must consent to other deboshes lesse criminall and lesse injurious; and to avoid sacriledges, to permit him to act single ruines: *Seneca* and *Burrhus* found themselves reduced to this miserable necessity; & the Philosophy & vertue of those two great persons were constrained so to bend under *Nero*, & to divert with industry the impetuosity of his vices: which by opposition would have been the more enflamed. This conduct nevertheless which ought to be secret, that it may work the better effects, and be stolen from the eyes of the Prince, least it should hurt more then profit, is many times ill interpreted; and the people consider not, that there are soveraign Princes who are not to be handled as men, but governed as Lions, and as furious beasts: and that it is a a great work to restrain their fury, and to hinder them from killing and devouring. Thanks be to God, we are in another condition; we have a king whose qualities to this time have been rather desired then seen: God hath given him to the world to repair the disorders of it; we are bound to him for our safety, and they that have merited in the past actions, were the instruments onely of his fortune, and the imitators of his vertue. Above all, 'tis a mark of heaven's gracious aspect upon this Prince, to have raised for him so generous and so wise persons, so understanding and so faithfull as they of his Councill. But 'tis an evidence also of the excellency of his Judgement, and of the strength of his understanding to have made so good a choice, and to have fixed his particular Election, upon his person who is the Chief and first Intelligence.

Truly, if that be true which *Aristotle* sayes, that he alone hath the pure use of Reason, and by consequence the most perfect vertue, that hath no violent passions; It may be aver'd without flattery, that never person brought to the service of Princes, and to the government of States, greater liberty of the soul, then Sr. the *Cardinall*. His condition exempts him from the strong impressions which blood and nature stampd upon the spirits of his fathers; He is a stranger to all those inclinations, which being rooted in the body, carry away the soul entirely, or divide it betwixt the pleasures of sense, and the operations of the understanding. And as for that villanous appetite of wealth which traverseth so many illustrious persons; which subornes the most usefull servants of Princes; and which hath often blotted the faireſt

Lifes:

Lifes: It is farre estranged from his humour; 'Tis certain, that if he hath ever leaned to any extremity in the way to vertue, it hath been towards prodigality; and that he found nothing so easie as to be in danger of poverty for the service of his Master: insomuch that it may be said of him, that he hath a soul so quiet, that not a Motion ariseth in it, but what his duty doth suggest; not an Agitation, but what the love he bears to his King hath occasioned; and that nothing hath been acted but what Reason hath consented unto, and what Philosophy hath conveyed into the souls of the wisest persons. Book I.

The fifth Discourse.

That good Ministers of State have not alwaies the Recompence which they deserve; and that their Services are often payed with Ingratitude.

THat a Minister of State proposeth to himselfe to act for the Love of Vertue, and to draw from himself the Approbations of Conscience, as the chiefest Recompence for the good he doth; For to hope alwayes, or for the most part, Acknowledgement, or Justice from the souls of Princes, is not to know their humour, and to mistake their nature. 'Tis to be ignorant that the great services which are done them, are so many great Crimes, when they have not wherewithall to requite them: That there are not in the world such dangerous debtors as Princes, when they are insolvent; that they make away their Creditors when they cannot pay them, for the fear they have that they will pay themselves with their hands; That they are never confident of the faithfulnesse of their subjects, who have power to hurt them; and that they forgive willingly enough the offences which have been done them, but never pardon the ill which may be done, though there be no will to do it.

There are so many Examples of this truth, in Histories and in all Ages, that 'tis almost a superfluous thing to make stay upon it. But amongst all, I see none comparable to the disgrace of *Belisarius*; that great person who had no other crime then his Reputation, and was not culpable, but that he was powerfull. Having conquered *Persia*, and subdued *Africa*, humbled the *Goths* in *Italy*, lead Kings in Triumph, and made appeare to *Constantinople* somewhat of old *Rome*, and an Idea of the ancient splendor of that proud Republique: After all that, I say, this great person is abandoned to Envy. A suspition ill-grounded destroyes the value of so many Services, and

Book I. and a single jealousie of State wipes them out of the memory of his Master: but he rests not there, for the demeanor had been too gentle, if cruelty had not been added to ingratitude. They deprive him of all his honours; they rob him of all his fortune: they take from him the use of the Day and Light: they put out his eyes, and reduce him to the company of Rogues; and *Belisarius* demands a charity. I confesse when I consider the chiefe Captain of his Age, and the greatest Ornament of the Empire, of Christians, after so many Victories & Conquests, accompanied with so high and clear a vertue, and in the midst of *Christendom*, reduced to the height of misery; it seems to me that I read the Metamorphosis of Fables: A desire possesses me to give the lie to History; and I cannot hold from exclaiming against the memory of *Justinian*, that could not suffer the glory of one of his subjects, who had been so usefull to him, and that of a Cabinet person and compiler of Lawes, had made him a Conqueror and Triumpher over people; so that basnesse cost him very dear, and obliged *Narces* who was as well a successour in merit, as authority to *Belisarius*, not to expose himselfe to the like fortune. This *Narces* upon a single act of disdain, which was past upon him at the Court of the Emperour, conceived that they might passe to a more cruel passion, if he prevented not the ill, and that it was better to shake off the yoak, then to stay to be oppressed. That spoiled th'affairs of *Justinian* in *Italy*: The *Goths* revolted, and Fortune could not forbear to be of the party which *Narces* followed, nor to find the *Barbarians* where so great a Virtue was engaged.

All Princes nevertheless are not of his humour, & there are some whose Raign is more Christian, and Conduct more just; and with whom desert is in safety; where services are acknowledged, and in whom brave Actions beget love, without giving them the least jealousie: However the Raign of our King is an eminent Exception to a proposition [so generall. And if *Machavell* had observed many such in the world, he had not advised them who rise very high by their Virtue to descend timely, and to quit their greatness, or to maintain it by force; He had known that there is yet a medium betwixt two extreams, and the King had made him see that his servants might continue great without making ill use of that greatnesse to become Rebels.

The second Example that I will propose, is the disgrace of *Ferrand Gonsalve*; 'Tis not in truth accompanied with so eminent a persecution, nor with such cruell marks of Ingratitude and Injustice, as that of *Belisarius*: But it hath nevertheless

less circumstances which deserve to be considered, and whereupon a Minister of State ought to pause. It must be confessed that *Gonsalve* is the greatest person that ever *Spain* brought forth. He may passe among the greatest of all Ages: He was worthy to enter the Lists of comparison with great *Scipio*; and the *Spanish* vanity hath not invented so high a Title to honour him withall, which he hath not made good by his Actions, and merited of his Enemies. He finished the conquest of the Kingdom of *Granada*, and had the honour to conclude a War of ten years, and to gain for *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, the Sirname of Catholiques. He chased us from the Kingdom of *Naples* for to re-establish the *Arragons*; And when *Ferdinand* shared with *Lewis* the twelfth, the Goods of his Parents, and that those Princes divided betwixt them the Inheritance of an unfortunate person; He conquered his Master's share and forced ours from us: He defeated our Armies in all places, but at *Seminara* where he did not command; He took all the Towns he assaulted, and which were defended by us: He knew how to overcome, and to make use of the Victory. And though no State in the World was more moveable or subject to Revolutions then that of *Naples*; He assured it notwithstanding entirely to *Ferdinand* and his Race. He stopped up there the Springs of the War, and of Disorders: He pulled up Factions that tore the Nation in pieces; and, if some root had since appeared, it had so little life and force, and such weak and faint motions, that the safety of the Kingdome was not shaken, nor its health altered. Book I.

He did not onely excell in War, and exceed all Captains of his time in the glory of Armes; but he supreamly understood the Art of Negotiations, and the knowledge of Affairs. His Eloquence was admirable; His speech had inevitable charms, and his Tongue furnisht infallibly to gain those whom his good Countenance had shaken, and whose liberty was weakened, and courage abated; Being a Prisoner to a King of *Granada*, He gained him to the service of his Master, and perswaded him to give himselfe up to *Ferdinand*, who would have had much trouble to overcome him: He withdrew the *Colonnes* and the *Ursines* from th'interest of *France*, for to cast them upon th'interest of *Spain*: And knowing well that long and inveterate hatreds as they were of both Families, are fatall to the parties where they enter, and dangerous in the occasions that awaken them. He reconciled the differences, and for a time healed th'Emulation they laboured of. He was moreover so zealous of the Greatnesse of his Master, and so passionate for the good of his Affaires,

Book I. that he quitted his Conscience, and broke his faith to whom he had given it: As in the Treaty he made with the *Duke* of *Calabria*, whereof I shall speak in another place, and when he seized with subtilty upon the person of *Cæsar Borgia*, and deceived that subtil person, who had deceived so many other persons.

Th'incomparable qualites then of this person, and infinite services which he had done to his Master, rendred him a suspected person. And though they love treason, yet they hate the Traytors: on the contrary, the Virtue of *Gonsalve* gives Apprehensions and Alarms to *Ferdinand*, for whom it had gained Kingdoms; And the conquests also of *Naples*, and th'entire reduction of that of that State being finished: He began more willingly than he should have done, to lend his Ear to the complaints made against him; And the Calumny became insolent, to assault him when it received credit from his Master. 'Tis impossible that they who have Commissions for great Commands, should give content to all the world: And 'tis hard to give imployments to all such as believe to merit them, or recompences to the esteem that every Person hath of his services, and to the value he sets upon them; and therefore there are alwaies persons that do complain, because some do believe themselves ill used; and who make spight and hatred to succeed at the rate of the good they have been disappointed of: This unhappinesse befell the great Captain; And it happened also that the complaints made against him in *Spain*, were not disagreeable to *Ferdinand*, who sought occasion onely to destroy him, and did not act an Injustice willingly, but when he had some pretence of Justice for to colour it: 'Tis strange, what torments and inquietudes the reputation of *Gonsalve* gave to *Ferdinand* all the rest of his life; The most loyal and best disposed of all his Subjects; He to whom he owed a part of his Greatnesse, who rendred him more formidable to other Princes, then all the rest of his powers, held his soul on a perpetuall wrack: And he never had any Enemy from whom he suffered so much and so long as from him. He was almost perswaded to extream Remedies to be rid of him, and, if he had not apprehended that in missing of his stroak, he gave him occasion to become a Rebell, he had caused him to be arrested upon the single Motions of Jealousie, and had given an instance of the force of the greatest of all humane passions, which is the love of Soveraignty.

This passion which so much vexed *Ferdinand*, is worthy to be represented: and th'Artifices used by the greatest Politician of the world, to ruine his own subject, are too subtill,

and

and too curious to be concealed from a person of State; The moderation also of *Gonsalve*, and the strength he had to resist his own Greatnesse which was in his power, and to repel a temptation which had a Kingdom for prize, deserve to be proposed to the subjects of other Princes. Book. I.

The sixth Discourse.

Th' Artifices used by Ferdinand *to destroy the great Captain.*

Ferdinand then upon the bare complaints of discontented persons, whereof the number is ever great against them that govern, lesseneth the power of the great Captain, and reduceth him to the ordinary Authority of Vice-Kings in a Kingdome which he had conquered. How sensible this thing was to a person of great courage, and what *Emotion* it ought to raise in the heart of *Gonsalve*, may be judged by the displeasure all men have to fall, and to be degraded in th'eyes of the world; And it may be judged by the hatred all men naturally bear to ingratitude, but they onely that exercise it; and by th'injustice it contains; that not onely the services that have been rendred, shall be frustrated of the reward which hath been merited, but that they also shall be th'originall of the disgraces suffered, and of th'ill entertainments, because a sufficient Recompence cannot be received. *Gonsalve* notwithstanding subdued his resentments, and appeared much greater in conquering himselfe in so tickliſh an occasion, then he had done in conquering so often th'enemies of his Master.

The patience wherewith he supported this injury, did not sweeten *Ferdinand*, nor cure his sick spirit. On the contrary it made it irreconcilable: He hates him the more whom he had newly offended, because he gave him cause to resent it, and takes the moderation which *Gonsalve* used for an Artifice, because his passion would not suffer him to attribute it to the greatnes of his Courage; That made him resolve to bring him back from *Naples*, though his presence there was yet very necessary, and to deliver himselfe at once of all his feares, and of all his apprehensions, in removing him from that place where he was so powerfull. He commands him then to return into *Spain*, since th'affaires of *Naples*, as he said, were in good condition, and informs him that he had use in other places of his person, and of his service. The great Captain prepares for his departure, but not with that nimblenesse which *Ferdinand* desired; To whose inquietude precipitation would have appeared slow, since it seemed to him that

Book I. that he could never be soon enough healed of the distrust which did torment him; This slowness which was for his service, and for the confirming of *Ferdinand's* authority in the Kingdom which *Gonsalve* would not leave tottering, encreaseth his feares and multiplies his jealousies.

Th'Enemies of *Gonsalve* close with this humour in *Ferdinand*; Envy again riseth against his Virtue, and there were but too many persons in *Spain*, and in *Italy*, who cryed down his Faithfulnesse, and represented his Ambition to such a height, that it would not fail speedily to compell him to assume the Title of Soveraign, whereof he exercised the Power.

That made him again resolve to send *Peter Navarre* to *Naples*, with private Orders to ceaze upon the person of the great Captain, and to make a Prisoner of him in the new Castle. And at the same time to lay him asleep, and for fear the distrust he had of him, should occasion the injury he feared, if it were discovered; he writes him a Letter, by which he doth promise him at his return, the great command of *Saint James*; A dignity, that did not truly equall the services of *Gonsalve*, nor pay the just price of his Actions, but was the higheſt in *Spain* next to the Soveraignty. As he was ready to execute this scandalous resolution, a person of Credit arrives at Court, from the great Captain, with Letters, which give him so great assurances of his fidelity, and confirm with such strong Reasons the just cause of his stay, that *Ferdinand* abated for that time the violence that transported him; but at last finding no lawfull Causes, or very visible pretences to use extream Remedies against *Gonsalve*, and being not assured of the possession of *Naples*, so long as *Gonsalve* was in condition to take it from him, he resolved to go in person to draw him away.

He was hardly arrived at *Genes*, but he understood of the death of his Son in law, with whom he had so many troubles, and who had handled him with so much indignity. Reason seemed to advise him to go back, and to retake the possession of the Government of *Castile*, before any change might happen there, that th'ill humours of that State were raised, and that th'ill had taken root there by his absence. That was represented to him by his Councill, and by his servants which he had left in *Spain*. But *Naples* must be provided for, since he was so near; He must pull the Thorn out of his heart which pricked him; And although he would not expose his person thither, when we were powerful there, when we contested the Kingdom with him, and that fortune then held in the Air the two scales of the Ballance where

where Victory hung uncertain; He made no question to go thither to destroy the power of a person that was most faithful to him. The prudence and dexterity of *Ferdinand*, made a wonderfull noyse on this occasion, which was heard in all places, and whereon all Christendom was attentive. At his Arrivall he made extraordinary Caresses to *Gonsalve*: He gave him honours that would have satisfied the most ambitious spirit of the world. He had no sufficient praises to extoll his vertue, nor power enough to requite his services. In brief, one might have said, that he would give him a share of his Authority, and of his subject make him his Companion. Book I.

In the mean time this great Captain is solicited from divers places, to take more advantageous Conditions then he had from his Master. The Pope with whom *Ferdinand* had founded intelligencies to make War against the *Venetians*, desires him for the Generall of the Churches Armies.

The Common-wealth of *Venice* offers him the Command of their Armies; The Emperour endeavours to gain him for his service; every person thought that Victory could not be severed from him, and his reputation dispatched above th'halfe of Affairs; His virtue truly was too fair not be tempted; But it had force enough to repell Temptation, and to resist the Baits wherewith Endeavours were used to corrupt it; He had given infallible Evidences thereof to *Ferdinand* during the persecution of *Castile*: And when almost all the Grandees of *Spain* had declared themselves in favour of his Son in law, and adored that new Power; *Gonsalve* stood firm, and assured him that what change soever hapned to him in his fortune, none should ever befall him in his affections; This was truly admirable in an occasion, where he had so many examples of failing, and, it may be, some Cause to do it during *Philips* life. Moreover being so able a person, and having long acted by th'orders of *Ferdinand*; It was not possible that he should be a stranger to his diffident Humour, and to his Covetous Inclination, and therefore ought to believe, that his services would pass un equited, and that the passion whereof his Master laboured against him, would not be appeased but by his Fall and Ruine. However, *Ferdinand*, to defeat th'intentions of the Pope, and to make void all solicitations that were made to *Gonsalve*; endeavoured to perswade him, that he had all the good opinion of the world of his fidelity; gives him a Patent of the great Master ship of *Saint James*, which was passionately desired by *Gonsalve*, and prayed the Pope to grant the Archbishop of *Toledo* power to confer it upon him; He well knew that the Pope would re-

Book I. sist it, and be troubled that *Gonsalve* should receive that dignity from any hand but from His, and that so whilst Endeavours were used to overcome that difficulty and pass that Ditch, he should be in *Spain*, and out of Danger to be deboshed; He grants him after that an Authentick Declaration of the great services he had received from him; as of the esteem he had for his merits, and for the inviolable zeal he had had for his Affairs. He sends this Declaration to the Courts of all Princes of Christendom, to efface, said He, th'Impressions that might have been made against the faithfulnesse of this great Captain; and that no spot might remain upon the honour of so great a person, He draws him from *Italy*, and brings him with him, by these eminent Artifices and Pompous Demonstrations of his good Affections. The interview made at *Savona* with *Lewis* the twelfth, enflamed his jealousie, and rendred the Virtue of *Gonsalve* the more suspected, because he saw it so much honoured by him, to whom he had done so much Evill, and from whom he had taken a Kingdom; For *Lewis* obtained of *Ferdinand*, that *Gonsalve* might dine in their company, an extraordinary favour, especially for a subject of *Spain* with his *Soveraign*.

At last he is conducted into *Spain*, where all the hopes which had been given him, and the magnificent promises wherewith he had been fed, are reduced to the Condition of a private person, in which Condition he is permitted nothing more then onely to live. They labour to discredit him, They use him ill in relation to his Parents: All his desires are refused, though very Civill and Just: And notwithstanding this stripped person is *Ferdinand*'s Flayl, and a virtue destitute of all the helps of fortune, troubles his spirit, and puts him into great paines. But as Princes feel not passions as other persons do, and take or leave them according to their Interest; The prosperity of *Lewis* the twelfth's Armes in *Italy*, under the Command of *Gaston* of *Foix*, and the disgraces of th'Army, of the League whereof *Ferdinand* was a member, enforced him to cast his eyes upon *Gonsalve* to send him thither.

This great Captain prepares for this Expedition; *Spain* dis-furnisheth her selfe of brave persons for to follow him there; and the greatest part of great persons, notwithstanding the fiercenesse of their humour, and good opinion of themselves, resolved to accompany him thither. This struck *Ferdinand* more then can be imagined; And the greatnesse of *Gonsalve* that became higher then ever; and th'ill condition of th'affairs of *Italy* which could not be recovered but by his virtue, trouble him with irresolutions. But fortune that had

had been so often favourable unto him, forgot him not in this occasion; she would not give men the pleasure to see the two chief planets of the world in Conjunction, and durst not decide a difference where parties were so equall. *Gaston* is slain at the Battel of *Ravenna*; by his death *Italy* changed her face, our affaires began then to decline; There was no further need of *Gonsalve*, and *Ferdinand* was delivered of the feares which had so strongly vexed him, and so long pursued him. The great Captain after that continued intirely estranged from Court, and from affairs, and a very little after quitted the world, where his virtue was become unprofitable, because it was too great, and where he had lost the good graces of his Master for having overmuch merited them. Book. I.

The seventh Discourse.

Of the disgrace of the Duke of Alva.

SInce we are upon the subject of Disgraces which happen at Court, and tempests which are there raised; Let us add the *Duke* of *Alva*'s to the former examples. He was one of the greatest Captains *Spain* hath brought forth, since the death of *Gonsalve*; He performed threescores years services to *Charles* the fifth, and to *Philip* his Son, and with so strange a misfortune, that he was ever odious to th'one, and never beloved of th'other: He made War almost in all the parts of *Europe*, and in *Africa*; he had the Command of the *Germane* Army, where the first League of Protestants was beaten, and one of their Commanders taken Prisoner: He preserved the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Philip*: He staid the progress we made into *Piedmont*; He suppressed the growing Rebellion in the Low Countries; and though his conduct was too violent, and that the severity of his deportment, and too great Inclination for blood, had forced the people into dispair; yet if he had not been recalled, when he was of most use there, 'Tis believed, that he had finished the reducement of them, or hindered them from growing greater.

And nevertheless after so long Course of services, and so many years spent for his Masters; *Philip* forbids him the Court for a light fault; for an inconsiderable Cause which carried onely the shadow of disobedience: His Country-house he assigns him for his Prison, and neither his services past, nor his Age which was worthy of some respect, nor the good wishes of all the people of *Spain*, nor th'entreaties of the *Pope* who interceded for him, could bend *Philip*, or prevail with him for his Liberty. But at last the businesse of the

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Book I. succession of *Portugal* hapning, and *Philip* having need of a Commander of Reputation to manage the War which he had there prepared; It was of Necessity to repair to the *Duke* of *Alva*. He accepted the Command with an incredible Gentleness, and without obtaining so much as the permission to see the Court; And He was to raise the Regiments of Foot, as He said, from Towns to conquer Kingdoms. The success of that War was such as *Philip* could desire it. But the Conclusion was glorious for the *Duke*, since he dyed after the reduction of *Portugal*, and in the Palace of *Lisbon*, where he had given Entry to his Master.

I do not truly find it strange that so many Princes are unthankful, because it may be they think all to be due to them, and that they are not indebted to any person. Yet I cannot but admire the faithfulnesse of those great persons of whom I have lately spoken, and that Generall obedience they have given to their Masters, even then when they were so ill used; This is the Cause that I will adde another example to the former, and of a person of the number of the most famous of the Age past.

Albuquerque subdued *Ormus*, took *Goa*, and settled th'Empire of the *Portugals* in the *East-Indies*. He caused the power of his Masters to be adored, where their name was not so much as known before his time. His Conquests enriched *Portugal*, and the precious Jewels which the Sun-rising engenders in th'East, past in abundance, since his voyages, through all *Europe*. After all these services, and in his great Age, *Manuel*, King, of *Portugal*, sends him a successor, and he had the displeasure to see himself stript of an honour he had not received, and of a Dignity he held not of the bounty of him which took it from him, but from his personall valour. The news truly of that Affront which was the recompence of his long and profitable services, troubled him much at the first--- And, making a great disturbance in his soul, forced him to say these words: *Good God, of how many Evills do I find my selfe encompassed! If I am faithful to my King, I offend men; and I offend my King, if I follow the Inclinations of men.* But this violent passion being appeased, and that his reason was returned, he justified the proceedings of *Manuel*, and reduced willingly to the condition of a private person; If Death, which sometimes happens too late to many great persons, had not ceazed on him, before he arrived at *Goa* from *Ormus*.

You may believe that *Albuquerque* was solicited by his friends, to possess himselfe of that State, and to establish himselfe in a place where he was powerfull, and where he had

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in his favour the love of the people; 'Tis therefore the Cu- Book. I.
stome of Princes, not to permit long the Government of a Country to him that hath subdued it, for fear lest in time he take root there, and that the sweetnesse of the Command, and the Conveniency of making himselfe Master, should cause in him the Desire of it. So *Ferdinand* of *Castile*, left not the Government of the *West-Indies* to *Christopher Columbe*, who had made the discovery of them. So the same *Prince* withdrew that great Captain from *Naples*, as hath been above expressed. So *Fernant* of *Cortes* was recalled from the Kingdom of *Mexico*, which he had gained for *Charles* the fifth; So the *Peru* was filled with Combustion and Wars, because the *Pizarres* who had made the Conquest, would not acknowledge the Governour which *Philip* the second had sent thither; nor obey in the place where they had accustomed to command.

The Eighth Discourse.

That in th'affaires of State, men do that sometimes which they would not do, and that there are inevitable Faults.

THat a Minister of State then suffer not himselfe to be transported with his charge, nor be drunk with the fume of it; That it be alwayes in him under jealousie: And consider that 'tis of the nature of Glass, and not of the Diamond; and that if it have some Clearnes, yet 'tis frail. And that he may the better comprehend this truth, and make use of th'instruction it bears; he must know, that he is to defend himselfe not onely from men, and the designs of Envy; But that he must also depend upon some superiour power, that will make him when it pleaseth to forsake his prudence, and compell him to act against his proper Maxims; that will carry him whither he would not go, and will so Invert his understanding, that he cannot but commit voluntary faults, nor to enter the precipice which he shall see open in the midst of his way; That, if in the war of the Body and Understanding, and in the seditious Motions, from the worse part of the soul, we do commit often the Evill which we would not do; The Condition of the person of State is much worse, and that of the proud Directors of the people, who are sometimes constrained to doe the Evil they would not do, if they were Masters of affairs, and if th'impetuosity of Destiny, and violence of some Cause stronger than them, did not over-rule them; And nevertheless the world fails not to blame them: Princes are angry

Book I. gainſt unfortunate, as againſt guilty perſons: Particular men that diſcover ſometimes in their private affaires ſomewhat like this, do not forgive for all that the Condition of publique perſons: And the pittifull Boatmen, who can hardly ſave themſelves upon a ſmall River, when it is but a little moved, condemn the great Pilots when they ſuffer ſhipwrack in the Ocean, and cannot reſiſt the fury of an implacable Element. Behold very eminent Examples to Confirm the truth of what hath been ſaid.

In the league made between the *Venetians* and *Charles* the fifth, againſt *Soliman*, a memorable accident happened. The *Venetians* were fully reſolved not to break with *Soliman*, and to avoid a War wherein they were to receive the firſt ſtroaks, and furniſh the Field with th'action that was preparing, and the theater with the Tragedy; They remembred, that they never had to do with the houſe of the *Ottomans* without loſſe, and that they never juſtled with them but to their ruine: They would not forſake th'Alliance of a Prince whoſe faith was known to them, in whom ambition permitted Juſtice, and was accuſtomed to diſtinguiſh between what's honeſt, and what is onely profitable; They would not deprive themſelves of the great advantages which they drew from thoſe States, nor cut the pipe of Riches, and the root of Abundance, which came to their ſubjects from thence; They were not ignorant of the Nature of Leagues and their weakneſs; They knew that good deeds penetrate leſſe then injuries, and that the deſire of Revenge is more active and violent in them that are provoked, then Acknowledgement in them who are aſſiſted. They conſider that a wiſe Prince ought not to engage, but on extremity in th'affaires that have nothing certain but the expence, whereof the future is alwaies trouble, and whoſe concluſion is not neceſſarily conformable to Principles, and to the firſt Appearance.

Upon theſe foundations or others, they reſiſted th'endeavours of *Paul* the third, who ſolicited them to enter into that League, and not to abandon the common Cauſe of Chriſtians; *Soliman* alſo on his part deſired to continue fair with the Republique of *Venice*: He was afraid to have ſo many enemies together in Hand, and how great ſoever their ambition was, the virtue and the power of *Charles* did not ſeem ſo inconſiderable unto him, but that he judged them Capable alone to exerciſe him; But as fortune often deceives the deſires of men, and laughs at their wiſdom, it diſappointed in this occaſion, as well th'inclination of *Soliman*, as that of the *Venetians*. The encounter of ſome of their Ships,

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and of unexpected Accidents which happened, obliged them to fight, and engaged them also in spight of them to a total Breach; And the *Venetians* were constrained to accept of the League, which they had so solemnly refused; By this truly it appears, that the *Venetians* could not avoid with all their Conduct, th'evill they had foreseen; And that he also from whom they were to receive their damage, could not be prevented from doing of it, though he had a design to be their friend. For it happened that the Gallies of th'Emperour having not done their duty at *Prevese*, and *André Dona* having betrayed the Christian Republique, and suffered *Barbarosse* to escape when he might have sunk him; The tempest that ris' in the States of *Charles*, fell upon them of the Republique; and *Soliman*, offended that the Republique, as he thought, had disdained his friendship, or had not sufficiently respected it, turned his Forces and Designs against their Ilands, besieged *Corfu*, and was within little of taking the Bulwarks that defend Christendom; He took besides that, all that they had in the Archipelagus except *Naples* of *Romaigna* and *Malvoisca*, which he forced from them since, by a Treaty of peace; after the losses they had suffered, after th'Expence they had made, and after a great diminution of former Reputation. Book I.

Behold other Examples, to shew that there are faults which seem fatall. In the first troubles of Heresie in *France*, and in that Tragique Confusion, the memory whereof hath since been often repeated; All the world observed, that the siege of *Poictiers* had been the Stone of offence to the *Huguenots*, and that the faireſt Army they ever had perished, there. The *Cardinall* of *Lorraine* reproached it to *Sr.* of the *Nones*; and though faults are customary in the war, more then in any other function of life; He assured him that they who commanded th'Armies of the King, would prevent committing of the like; yet notwithstanding after the Battel of *Moncontour*, which poured out so much *Hugenots* blood, and where that party received such large wounds, that it depended only on the Conqueror, that the soul was not let out; Instead of following the flight of th'Army which was routed, and them that saved themselves from the storm; The *Duke* of *Anjou*, unhappily dissipated his Army by lying down before *Saint John*: He stormed that Town, and lost the fruit of his Victory, which ought not to have been taken of a single place, but the Reducement of the whole party; not the remission of the Malady, but the health of the State. By this fatall stay, I say, he failed to make an end of the work that was so well begun: He gave meanes to th'Enemies to breathe

Book I. breathe and recruit: He rendred again the fortune of *France* doubtfull, and deprived it of the honour of terminating a War which is never ended by weakneſſe, but inability; nor by Reconciliation, but by the Ruine of the Conquered.

The Ninth Diſcourſe.

Where the precedent Diſcourſe is confirmed by the Example of the Spaniards.

I Will confirm the former Diſcourſe by a newer Example, and from the moſt prudent Nation of the world. The *Spaniards* who have their Reaſon ſo ſubtil, and Motions ſo regular; who make no Conſultations, but they obſerve all the differences of the time, and have alwaies in their thoughts the future and the paſt, when they deliberate onely of the things in hand, or that are not farre from their eyes. Theſe prudent, I ſay, and Circumſpect perſons, are not free from errours; They commit faults like other men, they go out of the way as well as we, and more is not to be ſaid, then that it ſeems their failings are either voluntary or more inavoidable then ours; And as we fall ordinarily as it were by night and in unknown wayes, They fall at full noon, and in the midſt of a high way. And as other people have reproached us, that we are capable to Conquer all, and to carry by aſſault what makes reſiſtance; But that we are not able long to preſerve that heat, nor to maintain our Conqueſts: The ſame may be ſaid of the *Spaniards*, that their deſigns have ſometimes good beginnings, which attain not alwaies their Ends becauſe they are Immoderate; That they begin well, but finiſh not alwaies the work they undertake, becauſe they withdraw themſelves to other work; that they make not an end of all things they undertake, in regard that they undertake too much at a time, that they Graſp more then they know how to hold and devour, more then they can digeſt.

'Tis not for want of patience, but for their too great Ambition; nor, that they forſake the Labour for being a weary and to reſt themſelves, but they ſuſpend it, or ſlack it in one place to attend it in another, where they think to proſper better: And as the Covetous perſon hath no ſooner the deſire in his heart of being rich, but he deſires ſuddenly to become rich; The like is the condition of the ambitious perſon, there are no degrees for the growth of paſſion, 'tis great as ſoon as 'tis born, and he hath th'unhappineſſe, that his Imagination knows not how to bound the Conqueſts which

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it meditates upon, nor lengthen the time, must necessarily be imployed to act them. This hath happened to the *Spaniards*; It may be said, that they have found their enterprises more difficult then they were represented unto them, in having too great an opinion of their own virtue, or too little of other mens virtues. Lets come to the proof of this truth wherewith they have furnished us, and whereof they have given us cause to beware. Book I.

They observed that th'Enterprise upon *England*, and preparation for that Fleet which they called *Invincible*, broke the course of the Victories of the *Duke* of *Parma*; that it drayned *Spain* of Money and Men, and hindred that Prince from receiving necessary recruits to continue the War. They also acknowledged, that the journies he made into *France*, to relieve the League, had unfurnished the Low Countries of their best Souldiers, and left those fair Provinces for a prey to their Enemies which had been so long their *Indyes*, and since have been so long their Poverty and Church-yard.

We may indeed say here, by the way, and then we will return to our subject; That *Philip* the second did not a little forget himselfe in these occasions, and that his Conduct was then too wise, or not wise enough. That it was not truly ill argued for the subduing of the *Hollandes*, first to ceaze on *France*, and Conquer *England*; to cut off at once th'Armes that supported them, and force away the Dugs which fed the Rebellion of that people. But also, that it was too vast a Design for a *Prince* so decayed, and a way too long and too dangerous for a person of so small strength, and short breath; That if he was transported by the zeal of th'house of God, and could not suffer Religion to perish in the first Kingdom of the world: If he was concerned in th'ill of *France*; and if he so vehemently loved the Church, that he could not permit so faire a member to be separated from her; It must be confessed, that his zeal had been commendable, if it had been more prudent. But he should have remembred that true Charity excludes not Justice; that it perverts not th'order of things; that it disorders not the duty of life; and that it hath as much light as heat, and of moderation as force: And therfore that it had been better to withdraw the people from Heresie which God submitted to him, and from rebellion wherein they were involved, then to ingage in th'affaires of his Neighbours, whereof he was not to give an Accompt, and that he was more obliged to labour the Cure of his sick subjects, then the lesser diseases of strangers. But lets speak the truth, It troubled *Philip* much to lose so fair an occasion as that which then presented it selfe, to gain by our disor-

Book I. ders; And he well saw that after the *French* were divided into Factions, and that the Children had torn in pieces their Mother; it would be easie for him to recollect the scattered members and the pieces of th'Inheritance. That if he lost this Conjuncture, he might after in vain desire it; that the madmen might return to their senses, and that they had been corrupted by Charmes and Drenches; That they being cured might change their love into hatred, and be animated against them who had put them into that Condition.

Though the *Spaniards* made the forementioned reflections, they failed not to strike upon the same sands, and to repeat their faults. Th'Emperour had incredible success in *Germany*; His Conquests forced in upon him like a Torrent; God sent him Victories like those of the Children of *Israel*, when they marched under the Conduct of *Moses* and *Joshua*, and it was no more a *Cæsar* by name, and the vain Imagination of what he ought to be, but he had the power and the majesty. His Authority gave reputation to the *Spaniards*. His Armies rendred them more fearfull than they were, and they saw their desires crowned with the taking of *Breda*, which *Spinola* boasted to have taken in spight of four Kings, and th'ayds of divers Nations in League: After that nothing was thought impossible for them, And notwithstanding in stead of pursuing the great progress which they had made in the Low-Countties, and to follow their Fortune which marched before them; They provoked troubles in *Italy*, and sharpned the spirits of divers Princes, in possessing themselves of the *Valtoline*. The usurpation of that passage gave occasion to make a league for to make it free, and the War was carryed into *Piedmont*, whither they conveyed great forces, which served onely to make th'affront more eminent, which they received before *Verrnë*, and to augment the shame of that retreat.

But they fell not alone into the precipices: They drew in the Emperour, whose name they made use of to vex *Monsieur* of *Mantouë*. To put I say, a poor Catholique Prince into his shirt who reverenced him; they compelled him to agree with the King of *Denmark*, and to make a dishonourable peace with the Protestant Enemy. They constrained him to take the Law of the Conquered; to restore him his Losses, and to let loose the Chain which pressed all *Germany*. There's apparance, that if he had continued the designs he had in that Country, and those in *Flanders*; They had compleated His Happiness; At least they had avoided the disgraces which happened unto them; they had given no scandall to *Christendom*. *Boldne* had been preserved, and so Catho-

Catholique a City had not entertained Heresie within its walls, nor lamented the losse of th'ancient Religion. But in this they had not onely men for Enemies, but God seemed to declare, and to make War against them; And as he suffered heretofore the *Philistins* to take th'*Ark* of the Covenant, and with it the fortune of th'house of *Israel*; He hath also permitted that the wealth of the new world should pass into other hands then theirs: That their Fleet should be beaten, and that Heretiques whom they name Rebels, made use of the treasures against them, which were destined for th'oppression of a Prince whom they took for their Enemy, in regard that he was not their subject, or ought not to be their Neighbour without depending on them. Yet, praised be God, we have been wiser; for what the King had undertaken, his Constancy was never tyred, and He Acted not by halfs, nor laboured without Effect; no irregular passion could make diversion upon his designes: He finished all of them; He hath dissipated all th'ill humours of the State; He hath confounded the Rebellion of his subjects, and our Allies have seen all the powers of *France* displayed, and all the vertue of the *French*, to master their ill fortune, and draw them from the bottom of the pit. In that miraculous passage over the *Alpes*, when *Italy* saw her deliverer to descend; and that *Milan* durst take some free breath; and *Naples* think of a gentler Domination, who would not have believed that the King would have pursued his Victory, and taken in *Italy* a Revenge of the losses of his Auncestors? And nevertheless by a Councell that was understood a few persons, and by an extraordinary prudence, he quitted the deceitfull appearance of good; He retired from *Italy*, and contented himselfe for that time to stench the blood of it, and bind up the wound, for to finish in Langnedock the Cure of an Evill that was in its Crisis, and which a greater stay might have made incureable; But of that we will make, God aiding, hereafter a discourse apart. Book. I.

The Tenth Discourse.

That Princes do approve but of the Services they Command, and punish oftentimes them that are done against their Orders.

LEt a Minister of State know that he doth alwaies ill, when he acts against th'orders are given him: That in the State, good intentions are not warrantable if th'effects are not agreeable to the *Prince*: That the works of supererogation are not current there, and that the services that are ren-

Book I. rendred, if they are not commanded, are things put to hazard, which are exposed to the capricious humour of a person interressed, and shall sometimes be condemned by him, who would be sorry if they were not done, who drawes profit from them, and hereby accommodates his affairs; so true it is, that reason of State is a strange thing, and that the Condition of men, and chiefly of publique persons is unhappy; Th'Examples will declare better then the discourse which is to be observed in this matter.

The *Carthaginians* punished with death the Captains that had gained a battel without advice, and against the rules of War; nothing is read answerable to the jealousie the first *Romans* had for Command. They could not give a good countenance to the successes which were obtained with disobedience. And there were Fathers, who would not give life to their Children, that were victorious in Combats that had been forbidden them. At the siege of *Cambrey*, or of *Dourlans*, the Count *Fuentes* caused the head of a master of the Camp to be cut off, who in an assault advanced further then he was commanded, and took a post of very great Importance. And though the profits of these happy faults, and of those blind successes, remain to the Prince and Country; 'Tis certain, there's cause for their punishment to hinder th'imitation which is often dangerous; And for th'Evill is in it, that the Judgement of a superiour should be sleighted by a particular person, and his Authority violated: Amongst us, these Attempts are praised when they prosper, and they are not punished when they are unfortunate. But it is a condition inseparable from our humour, and an effect of that blindnesse which possesseth almost all *France*, To neglect prudence and Order, and to have an esteem onely for Impetuosities, and to Idolize nothing but Courage.

Observe an Example very remarkable in our time, and a fault of another nature, then the prudence and love of the Country would have advised, and the *Prince* to whom it was of Advantage, judged it worthy of punishment. At the peace which was made 1617. by the Mediation of the King, betwixt the Republique of *Venice*, and the *Arch-Duke Ferdinand*, who is now Emperour; The King of *Spain*, and the *Duke* of *Savoy*. The Republique of *Venice* employed *Octavian Buon* as their extraordinary Embassador, a Gentleman of great opinion among the *Citizens*, to manage that affair with the *Gussony*, their ordinary Embassadour near the King. The Instructions given to their Embassadours, commanded them not to consent to any Treaty of peace, but on condition the *Galleres* which had been taken from the *Venetians* at *Spalatro*,

by

by the *Duke* of *Ossone* should be restored, and that that blot was taken out from th'honour of the Republique: They had also Orders, though not so formall and expres, to oppose th'union that was in forming between the two Crowns, to give joyntly the Law to *Italy*, and to the rest of *Europe*. Book I.

Nevertheless the *Spaniards*, who sayl with all winds, and raise profit out of all occasions, put a great value upon th'Evidences of Esteem and Affection, they made out to the King, in submitting to him so great differences, and exposing of their affairs to the judgement of his Agents. But to sell this honour to him at a very dear rate, they pressed th'union whereof I have spoken; Union which they had long in their thoughts, and had sought since *France* was delivered of the *Spanish* Invasions, and had secured her selfe of their Ambushes; Union to which they aimed with the same heat they did at the Monarchy, since it was to be the Bridge to passe them safely, and the necessary principle for the ruine of other Christian States, and losse of their liberties.

Bentivoglio Nonce, and now a Cardinall and Protector of *France*, joyned his good endeavours to those of the *Spanish* Embassadour, in favour of that so much desired Union and fatall Intelligence.

However if that design fail, they would have peace, not being able any longer to make War: That *Gradisque* which the *Venetians* besieged, was upon its last breath; That the *Duke* of *Savoy* swollen with the relief was come to him from *France* was powerfull, and *Don Petro* of *Toledo* weak, and his Army shattered since the siege of *Vercel*. They would have, I say, peace, but after their manner, and upon a vain shadow of honour which they believed to have done us, and upon a light smoak of difference wherewith they thought to have intoxicated us: They would exempt themselves from Evils which hung over their heads; they would have it nevertheless with vapouring and reputation; as if fortune had been propitious to them; They would have no mention made of it in the Treaty of the restitution of the Ships of the Republique, and that the Ships should remain with them as Trophies of a Victory, and as marks of Triumph: They promise to deliver them to the King's Officers, as a great Bounty which should be exercised for love of them, and to oblige *France*; They would not also that any expresse or particular mention should be made of *Vertel*; In regard, it was more convenient, say they, for the greatnesse and dignity of their Crown, to deliver up that place without Constraint, as they promised to do, than by a Treaty of Accommodation;

Book I. modation; Our Agents induced by Causes, which were then, it may be, lawfull, and which would not be indured in the generosity of the present Government, engage th'Ambassadors of the Republique between two extreams; They press them to sign the peace upon the foresaid Conditions, or threaten them with th'union which would have been so prenicious to *Italy*. A strange and hard necessity to which they were reduced; They desire time to informe the Senate, and to receive thereupon their pleasure. 'Tis refused, and three dayes only are given them to resolve; of the two Evils whereof Election was to be made, they chose the lesse, and accept of a shameful peace; and, contrary to their instructions, to avoid an inconveniency which contained an Evill, they had order to fly, and th'other Evills they had cause to fear, which were comprehended in th'union: They offend but for the good of the Republique: They expose their heads, but for the good of their Country: They would perish if their ruine might serve their Country. The *Senate* advised of what their Ambassadours had done: Condemn their proceedings, and resolve to make them examples of their Temerity: All their reasons though necessary are rejected, And if the King had not interposed his authority for the safety of the poor men, they had run the hazard of being exposed to that Justice of State which attributes so much to Conformity, that it makes no distinction betwixt the unhappy and the guilty, and that seeks ordinarily th'advancement of the publique good in the ruine of particular persons. Certainly it was to the advantage of the Republique, to embrace that peace, as it did, and to take it as a medicine, to cure it selfe of a greater Evill that threatned it. The Republique had reason also to seem willing to preserve her Dignity, and for th'interest of the right of Nations, to punish her Embassadours that dared to be wiser then the Republique, and procure her good against her Prohibition.

These are onely gentle Notions, and 'tis a Conduct that ought not to hurt a Minister of State, when he is desavored of things treated upon by his own propensities: and a Prince may sometimes lawfully make use of the advantages which befall him upon a Treaty he disavoweth, without being obliged to repair the fault which another Prince hath committed by his facility and sottishness. And it would not be thought strange, since that as well in the Commerce of Princes as of particular persons, the fortune of wise men is ordinarily made at th'expence of fools, & the good success that happens, proceeds more from the Defects, and imprudence of them with whom they have to do, then from th'industry

dustry and virtue of them that obtain it. Behold an Example which happened under *Lewis* the twelfth, which will make clear what hath been said. It was in a season when almost all Christendom conspired against us, and when the Assauls of almost all our Neighbours were at one Time to be resisted; The most dreadfull Nation of that time was without doubt, that of the *Suisses*, and the greatest Enemy to this Crown. They entred into *Burgundy* with the body of an Army, and in great Numbers; They begin suddenly to make desolate that Province: They made dayly progress, and made no question of starving *Paris*, and to force Victory to its very Gates. The King sends *Tremoville* to allay this Tempest, and stop this impetuous inundation; He makes haste, and as he was a great person for war and business, he managed the spirit of the people with so much dexterity, that he sends them home to their Country loaden with some spoils, and promises he made them, and hopes he had given them. Th'Artifice was profitable to *France*, the storm that threatned it was diverted, and the stroak we could not have put back by violence, was avoided by cunning. But nevertheless the King did not think himself obliged to performe what *Tremoville* had promised without his Order, nor to be warrant for th'imprudency of the *Suisses*, who abandoned their present Advantages, and them that the future did infallibly promise them, for uncertain promises and vain Hopes.

When I consider the noyse which the *Suisses* made for the breach of that Treaty, and how odious and new that Artifice was unto them: when I consider th'Art of deceiving, which since hath been introduced, and which shews it selfe impudently in th'affairs of Princes: when I consider also the legality used by *Lewis* the twelfth, in th'observation of the League at *Cambray*, in making Conquests for Princes that were not friends to *France*, and in putting them into their hands, and the maintaining of them unto them; I say unto my selfe, that the time is very unfortunate, where the vices of our Ancestors are become our virtues; where in stead of gaining knowledge, an Expedient is found to corrupt the Manners of men with reason; and where, in stead of studying to reconcile Virtue with Interest, and with personall love, men have so shamefully falsified and disquieted in such sort the Resentments of Good and Evill, That if Religion had not forbid us to believe it, we should be of *Aristotles* judgement, who doubts in some places; whether Virtues are good by nature, or by the opinion and consent of men.

It must not be forgot that there are Princes who would that

Book I. that their Ministers of State should sometimes be cruell and forsworn, provided that it were done without their knowledge and order, They love not malice, but seek the profit that may thence arise, and are of the humour of *Pompeye's* Son, who was so worthy a successor of the virtue of so great a Father, and contested with *Anthony* and *Augustus* th'Empire of the world. This *Pompey* entertaining *Anthony* and *Augustus* in his *Galley*; the Captain which commanded it, demanded leave of him to weigh th'Anchor, and to carry away his Guests, and to make Prisoners of his Rivalls; He answered him, that he ought to have done it without telling him of it, and should have made him great without making him forsworn. Certainly an honest person will never be of the mind of this Captain. He will serve his master with his Estate and Goods, but not with his Honour and Conscience.

The Eleventh Discourse.

That a Minister of State ought to regulate his Demeanour by the interest of the State, and of his Prince; Provided that he offend not Justice.

THat a Minister of State is to conceive, that the soul of his behaviour, and the first motive of his Actions, ought to be the good of the State, and interest of his Prince, that he hath no other Law to follow, nor other way to take, and that he must never go aside; provided that Justice be not offended, which is an inviolable rule, and admits of no Exception nor Contradiction.

Particular persons may part with their Rights in many things, and make voluntary losses to act generous Actions; In that they exercise onely what belongs to them, they lose nothing but whereof they are Masters and Proprietaries, and the Damage they suffer is sufficiently requited by the glory of the good they do; But Princes, (and this the more strongly concerns the Ministers of State) instead of being generous in forsaking th'interest of their Countries become imprudent; and they are unjust if they prostitute what is not theirs, and which hath been put into their hands as a sacred Depositе, by the people who have stripped themselves of it. And since their first obligation is to prevent their unhappinesse, who have delivered up their Liberties unto them, and have put themselves under their power: 'Tis certain, that they offend their Dignity, and sin against what they are, who suffer the loss of any Right of State, or of the diminu-

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tion of any member; and that the subjects may oppose it with Justice, and dissent without Felony; According to this Rule which is well grounded, the States of *France* had reason to hinder th'Alienation of *Burgundy*, and the Assignment of that Province, which *Francis* the first had promised for the price of his Liberty: And th'Emperour was to blame to refuse money in lieu of it, and to require of *Francis*, that being unable in that case to perform the Conditions of the Treaty, or overcome the resistance of his subjects; He ought to return to prison, which was, said he, the least he could do: since in all Rigour that Obligation had no force, but in the not-observance of what wholly depended upon him, and was promised fraudulently, and with intention to break promise. That, if it be permitted to a particular person, to get out of prison when he finds the door open; If it be not forbidden to a person in Chaines, to force his fetters, and to quit his misery; If some impressions of the priviledges of nature to the person escaped, may be found in the right of Nations; why should it not be commendable in a great Prince, to make use of it? Why should it be forbidden him to preserve the good gained upon a faithfull account, in repairing, by what is in his power, what he could not execute by being at the disposition of another. Book I.

'Tis upon this foundation, in my judgement, that Princes who finding in their States some Member thereof to have been usurped by their Predecessors, retain it in conscience, after the possession hath been long peaceable, and the occupation not interrupted nor contested. For in this, 'tis the Usuper that ought to answer the action, and that hath been obliged to repair th'injury that hath been committed, and the violence that hath been exercised, otherwise truly the Conditions of all Princes were miserable; They could never be assured of their States; They should be alwaies in quarrell with their Neighbours, and the peace of the world should be altered by too frequent Changes, and by eternall revolutions. It is nevertheless true, that although the retention be not unjust, and in Conscience be defended; yet that hinders not the just pretensions of others to those States, or that they may not also in Conscience pursue the recovery of them by Negotiation or by Arms; Provided nevertheless, that there be no Treaty nor Agreement equall to it, by which they have renounced their right; that they have done no action contrary to it; and that so great a time be not elapsed, that the place be held by a formall demission of the right, and *prescript* by universall Consent of all Nations, and of all people in favour of the possessor. So the King may

Book I. lawfully keep *Mets*, *Thou*, and *Verdun*, though these places had been unjustly taken; so we may pretend in Conscience to the Soveraignty of *Flanders*, and to the States of *Milan*, *Naples*, and *Navarre*, since we have for that, Pretences well grounded, and undoubted Titles: that our Claimes have alwaies been made; that they are known of all the world; and that we have not by Treaty nor Action, destroyed the force of them; so we should be condemned to endeavour the recovery of the losses of the first successors to *Charlemaine*, and to renew those quarrells whereof with difficulty History hath perserved any intire impressions, or any light that were not [illegible] obscured.

That if Soveraigns are bound up with so great rigour and hard Chains for the good of the people, who are their subjects; How much more ought the Ministers of State, and Agents whom they imployed to be bound up: And how religious ought they to be in the management of the thing that concerns so many persons, which enlargeth it selfe upon sacred and prophane heads, and where th'interest of God mixeth with that of men; 'Tis not to be understood by what hath been said, that I would banish Liberality and Magnificences from the life of *Princes*, and from the condition of publique persons; nor that I would cause these virtues to descend below the Thrones, and below the Purple, since they are properly there, onely in their Glory and Dignity; and that Great persons have no other advantage of mean persons that are honest men, then th'ability of doing good, which others have onely in Will and Inclination, for want of power. But there's a peculiar art in conducting of these Virtues, without which they pass easily into the nature of the Vice that is neareſt to them; and resemble Torrents, which in stead of refreshing, destroy, and in pressing too hard the course of their waters, and to precipitate their fall, are presently dry, and leave nothing behind them but marks of desolation, and impressions of ruine. But thereof I shall treat in another place; Let us return to the subject from whence we parted, and give the King th'honour, that no Prince ever had more tender or lively resentments, for th'interest of his States, or for the dignity of his Kingdom, then himselfe. There's nothing so hazardous that this passion did not cause him to undertake, nor nothing so difficult that it hath not mastered. It hath made him change th'apparance of things, such as appeared impossible, have been affected; and th'Evils which were believed desperate, have found their remedies and Cure. He had no rest till he had made himselfe master of all his Subjects, and he hath constrained them to be faithful,

full, who knew not to obey so long as they could defend themselves. He went abroad in all places where our Interests lay: The relations of blood concerned him not so much as those of his Crown: All other Duty hath given place to that of Regality, and he hath the content to have rendred unto it intirely, the two things that maintain it, Reputation and Power. Book. I.

But 'tis not to be forgot, that God hath raised a Person to second his great and just inclinations, who having an understanding and virtue above the Ordinary of men, hath imployed all his wit and virtue for his Masters Greatness and Glory; He laid aside the consideration of a particular Capacity, so soon as he became a publique person; nothing could divert him from doing his Prince good service: He feared not the hatred of great persons, nor the bitings of the people. And he kept his way and pace as well through the contradictions and resistance was made him, as through th'acclamations received, and the prayers given him. Then also when he might have landed after a glorious Voyage, when Envy was silent, and reduced to observe the future; finding nothing in his past Actions for reproof, but for Commendation, when he might have enjoyed the sweetnesse of that Rest which attends happy troubles, and honourable labours. He would not, because it was necessary for us; that all forraine winds were not laid, and that disturbances were busie amongst our Neighbours and Allies. He chose rather to commit a full and entire glory, as his was, to the hazards of the future alwayes doubtfull, and subject to revolutions, than to permit his Master and Country to desire his care and aid; And that which is most admirable, is, that his love so necessary, and duty so inviolable, have sometimes prevailed with him to suspend resentments which troubled him nearer then his personall preservation, which were dearer to him then his life, and which he preferred to all his fortune at Court, and to all the greatness of the world. In pursuance of this, I say also what concerns the manners of particular persons and their Government; Charity commands us to lay out on them the best Colours, and most favourable Interpretations. But when the question is of the good of States and Interest of Princes, a greater severity of Judgement must be used. All appearances of Evill must be attended with distrust, and divers expedients must be used to avoid surprises, and to secure against Ambushes. The reason is, that 'tis not permitted to commit small faults in such great and general matters, and that the will doth not engage to prepare us against deceit, when a great opinion is had of the honesty of the per-

Book I. persons that are to be treated withall. But if precaution be at any time necessary, and if there be need at any time of preservatives against so subtill and piercing a contagion; 'tis principally in that season, when Treachery makes a part of politique Prudence, and where the simplicity of them who suffer the surprise, is more shamefull then the perfidy of them that deceive to their own advantage; Add th'Artifices that are imployed to disguise it, and the subtilties which have been invented to represent it under another name then its own, and cause it to pass under shews contrary to its nature; insomuch that though it be alwaies condemned by the mouth, and in Coversations, I doe not see nevertheless that 'tis cast out of the commerce of Princes, and use of affaires, but by th'event when it proves fatall; let us conclude then, that in these occasions diffidence is the Mother of safety; and not to be deceived, preparation must be made as if it were to be expected.

The Twelfth Discourse.

That a Minister of State ought endeavour to make his Deportments more Profitable than Eminent.

THat a Minister of State ought to be a stranger to th'Apprehensions of the vulgar, that he ought not to be subject to the weakness of Low spirits, nor to touch upon th'objects which entertain them. That he know how to make difference betwixt the reality and apparance of things; betwixt the solidity and the brightnesse; that he prefer not Glass before Gold; because th'one is more shining and luminous, and th'other more dark: He must not value so much the colours of the Bow in heaven, which are but a beam of light fixed for an hour in some drops of water thickned in th'air, as the firm lasting Colour of the *Ruby*, *Emerode*, and *Opale*. He must make a noble expence when it shall be necessary, and be splendid on important occasions, and appear for th'honour of his Master; He must not neglect th'occasions whose principall Quality resides in Magnificency: As the Embassies that are made upon the coming in of a King, upon the Crowning of a *Pope*, for an alliance or a marriage; but let him not fall sick upon such expences, nor be transported, nor make it the greatest Ornament of his conduct, and choysest expression of his life, nor fix his greatness upon a transitory Pomp, nor his glory upon a Magnificence that flyeth away; and above all to beware, that instead of being magnificent he become not prodigall; for as Vice cannot be made beau-

beautifull what Ornaments soever are put upon it. 'Tis certain, that the people are provoked when a vain ostentation is made of their substance, and a triumph of their sweats and pains. They are amazed and at a stand; but in the same manner as they behold the pulling down of Temples, and th'overflowings of Rivers: Wise persons are troubled, when the principal force of the State is dissipated, the security of peace, and th'instrument of War, which is Money, in superfluous expences, since there's never enough for the necessary occasions. Book I.

The things which I have said, are chiefly in relation to the people, which astonish and ravish them, at the instant they make them afraid. There are other things also which touch upon the great Spirits, and transport th'highest Courages; Such are th'Arms of War, and th'objects of Valour: There's no virtue in th'opinion of the greatest part of men more in esteem than this, and no matter is more acceptable for Conversation, nor any Entertainment more bewitching, then th'effects of War; wherefore Historians shun the times of peace and dead seasons, as Mariners do the gentle seasons and calms of the Sea; on the contrary, they triumph in War, and in Tumults; the Seditions and Insurrections of the people, are the lights of their writings; and their faireſt subjects and most excellent Arguments, are raised upon the Ruine of Empires, and the death of great persons; wherefore they that frequently read *Tacitus*, do not so much fix upon the subtilties and deceits of State, whereof his Books are full beyond probability; as upon the routing of the *Roman* Legions; upon the Revolts of Armies against their Generalls; upon th'inundation of the Sea, and wrack of Fleets; Th'Art of *Tiberius* to govern, is not read with so much pleasure; nor the Artifices of *Sejanus* to establish himselfe, as the poysoning of *Germanicus*, or the violent death of *Seneca*; The dexterity practised by *Tiberius*, in the name of *Sejanus*, is not so earnestly considered, and the subtil and captious Letter he wrote to the *Senate* to be rid of him, and whereof he was an Hearer; as the punishment of a person who had raised his Statues to the side of his Masters, and th'overthrow of that *Colossus*, who had commanded all th'Earth. 'Tis not, sayeth *Aristotle*, that Valour is the first of all Virtues, or that Justice is not to be preferred before it; but that it acts with more boldness then other Virtues, and is exercised in surmounting of dangers, and in despising of death. 'Tis reasonable that the Recompence that is due to it from abroad, be the greater and the more eminent; that it be Crowned with Glory, and they that give their Lives to the service of their Princes, and to the

Book I. good of their Country, obtain another life not subject to perish; and to be preferred in the memory of men, and to flourish alwaies in the mouthes of the Renowned.

Though these things here do raise admiration, and that the spirit of man which attends naturally actions of Eminency, layes out excessive love upon them, though a Minister of State ought to esteem them highly, and honour the Conduct when it shall be necessary; yet he ought to proceed further, and know that there are more silent and concealed operations, which are better then th'others, because they are more usefull for the publique, and want of that outward recompence; Time onely discovers them, in regard that secrecy is their principall Condition, and the wise onely consider them according to their merit, because they make but little noyse, & touch not upon the senses which make up the reason of the people; They resemble the Rivers, which running gently from the womb of their Center, fill the fields with fruitfulness, and Cities with abundance; or the motions of the Heavens, whith being almost undiscernable, turn upon the Earth the power of the Sun, and the wealth of the Stars.

To foresee th'evills which may befall a State; to prepare preservatives to hinder their growth; to suppress the Causes before they have produced their Effects, are things very little considered: And yet a greater Obligation is due to a Physitian, that preserves the health from all sorts of Alteration, than to him that restores the health when it is lost; A greater Debt is due to him that hinders a person from falling, then to him that draws him from a precipice; And 'tis a better and more difficult thing to preserve a State, then to Conquer it: The preservation of the Creatures is as noble and excellent a work of God's, as their Creation. They are both of the same price, and th'one is but the continuation of th'other. But it is not the same in Conquests and preservation of States; The first are not gained but by pieces; one Province is added to another, and there's need of severall Ages, and of great Revolutions of things, before a Monarchy can attain the Greatness that composeth it. But the second takes notice of the whole frame of an Empire, no part is exempted, and the pieces which have been made one after another, ought to move together as in a Watch, and to point out th'hours. The glory of Conquests is derived from many Causes, many Persons contribute to it; Fortune interposeth as well as Virtue; and the faults committed by Enemies, do advance them as much as the Conduct of the persons that obtain them. But the conservation, is th'effect

of

of a single person, or the work of a few persons: Imprudency enters not there but to destroy, and confound, and the door of Hazard, and so all th'Avenues of Fortune, is as strongly shut as it can be locked. In Conquests, force mingles with prudence, and the Body acts with th'understanding; but in Conservation, Reason onely is employed, and Wisdom the noblest of her habits. Book. I.

In a word, great Princes have found the last of these things more difficult then the first; *Augustus* endured much labour before he could confirm the Empire his Uncle left him, and it was not done without changing the face of the world, and without seeing all Nations armed against one another; That he reunited the body that was divided into three pieces. But he was so much troubled to maintain that Composition, and to govern that Frame when he became absolute, that he had it in deliberation amongst his friends, whether he ought to strip himselfe of so weighty a greatness, or bear it with the inseparable Cares and Thorns that are fastned unto it; Some have been found, who having tryed the weight, and tasted the bitterness, have chosen rather to abandon it, & cast themselvs upon the quiet of a private life, then alwaies to be encumbred with a multitude of Persons and croud of Businesse. There are some who have given the lie to that common opinion which Ambition hath invented, *That an Empire can no more receive a Companion, than the World two Suns*, and have permitted others to share with them in a thing so full of jealousie as Commands, and so incommunicable as Soveraignty. The Conduct of *Tiberius* for peace hath not been lesse admired, nor th'Artifices he used in his Age, lesse exactly observed by the Historians, then the Wars he made in his youth, and th'evidences of Valour which he gave in his most flourishing time. The life of one of our Kings which deserved the Sirname of Wise, is not lesse considerable then the lifes of them who have carried the Titles of Conquerors; and a Prince our Neighbour, hath given him this praise, that no King ever raised fewer Armies, and that no person ever gave him so much disturbance. The Difficulties wherewith he was assaulted both within and without; th'Artifices he was constrained to resist; the Conspiracies from which he was to be secured, and th'Enterprises of strangers, which he made useless by his prudence, delivered him to posterity, worthy of a Title which hath been given to meaner persons, as that of the Great.

Few Princes had greater Affairs in hand then *Lewis* the eleventh, or more Enemies; His principal Officers betrayed him; the Princes of the blood forsook him; He saw *England*,

Book I. *land, Burgundy, Flanders* and *Bretany*, in confederacy for his Ruine, and yet his dexterity surmounted those difficulties; He overcame his Enemies without conducting of Armies, or giving of Battails, and without making much noyse of eminent Attempts; He defeated all that was raised to destroy him; but never person was more to be feared in the Cabinet, nor had done greater things abroad, without stirring from home, then *Philip* the second. From th'*Escuriall* where he had shut up himselfe; He governed two Worlds, with three fingers of Paper. He was also as absolute in *Peru*, as in the Kingdom of *Castile*; with three words he changed the Governours, and deposed the Magistrates in *America*, and in *Japan*; And 'tis certain that never Prince was lesse seen of his subjects, nor more respected by them than he was.

According to what hath been said, 'tis not possible to suppose a more eaven Conduct, or more intelligent then that of *Sr. the Cardinal's*. He never offends against the conveniencie of things, and his Intelligence is so pure, and Reason so cleare, that he assigns them alwaies their just price and place; He is magnificent, and spends with Eminency; not that he hath no esteem naturally for wealth, or hath never adored th'Idoll of the Court, and the mean favours of Fortune; but because prudence hath so ordained it, and that his Occasions and Dignity require it. He makes not nevertheless that glorious dispensation, and high use of Riches, which is but for shew, and th'exterior; the Basis of his honour, or foundation of his glory. He knows that all prodigalls have more desire to spend then himselfe, and that publique Robbers have sometimes been seen in great States, who have had more power. But for th'other Imployment, which is the love of great Courages, which is th'Ornament of th' *Annales*, and Histories, and which hath made the greatest part of the Gods, th'Ancients have adored; It hath occasioned in him a great contest of body and mind, and he hath not forgot the thing might make him to prosper in it. 'Tis true, that he was furnished with the principles which accompany a noble blood, and an *Illustrious* Birth: 'Tis true, that his Reason, and the lights of his Understanding, have compleated that Disposition for all sorts of Good, which nature hath infused into him; notwithstanding it must be avowed that he followed such a profession of life, as had restrained those generous Inclinations, and hindred the seeds to grow; If they had not been raised up by his love to the King, and to the necessities of his Country.

But he loved his Master too well, to stay in the Calm whilst he

he was in the storm; and he was too sensible of th'evills of *France*, to give onely his Counsells for its relieſe, and to suffer the Remedies to be applyed by other hands than his. The things which have been done in the Wars, where he was present, are incredible, and prosperity will be puzled to believe the wonders which happened in our time. But it must be confessed also, that in these Occasions he did not onely contribute his Courage, and the force of his soul, but blended also that secret Art and insensible Addres, which is the higheſt degree of Civill science, and the perfection of Ministration. And as th'encounter of two Stars of different qualities, produceth here below effects which would not happen without that mixture, and confusion of Virtues; 'Tis certain also, that th'Industry which *Sr. the Cardinall* added to the Power, hath advanced the Kings Victories, and made them easie. It mollified th'hearts which could not have been broken but with great difficulty; It opened the Gates of Cities, where it had been dangerous to have entred by Breaches; it spared blood that was not to be despised, and an infinite number of lifes which have not been unprofitable to the State.

What hath not this Art done in the midst of peace, and in the quiet of affairs? how many designs, which had been fatall to *Erante*, have been stifled in their Conception? How many storms diverted at the very instant that the matter began to gather? and how many ill affections have remained barren for having been prevented? And abroad and amongst our Neighbours, hath not the same Art made discovery of its virtue and influence? It hath disappointed the subtilties of *Italy*, from doing of us any harm; That th'Artifices of *Spain* have not surprised us, and that we have surmounted the prudence of strangers as well as their forces. That Prince beyond the Mountains that lived so many yeares, and raigned so long time, who alwaies repaired his weakneſſe with his Crafts and his Courage; and deceived Fortune so often, that had made it her design to destroy him; had the displeasure to see his Gharmes defeated, his Fineſſes discovered; and all that inverted upon him, which an experience of above fifty years, and the vivacity of his spirit, had furnished him with, of inventions to hurt us; The *Spaniards*, who have alwaies such plenty of means to attain their Ends; who set such subtill and invisible Twigs to catch other Nations, and have often finished in their Treaties the designs began in their Wars, were amazed to find a person so subtil as themselves; And, as the covetous persons believe they have lost

Book I. all they do not gain, the *Spaniards* have complained that they were deceived, when they saw that we knew how to hinder their deceit.

The Thirteenth Discourse.

That 'tis of Importance that a Minister of State be Learned.

SInce this close Art, whereof we have now spoken, is so profitable for States, and gives sometimes such extraordinary stroaks; since its hidden influences are so powerfull; since that its secret virtue is so active: Lets see a little from what spring is runs, and with what forces 'tis accompanied. There's no question, but for this as for all great Actions, the birth must be happy; Th'aspects of the Stars must be favourable, and Nature propitious to us, otherwise 'tis to labour in vain. If it be contrary to us, 'tis to build without a foundation, 'tis to sow seeds on the Rocks; or, at best, 'tis to row against the stream of a rapid River. When Nature and Birth have distributed their Gifts and Advantages, there are two things which help to gain this Art, and to forme it, Learning and Experience. We have treated thereof in the first Discourse of this Book. But in regard the first of them is ordinarily too little esteemed by them who make no use of it, but as an unprofitable moveable, and superfluous Ornament. And that 'tis sometimes too much neglected by them, who have great Obligations upon them to be furnished with it: Who have no motions but what are accompanied with publique Interest; no passions but such as are fatall to a State, and whose faults resemble the irregularities of the Sun which confound th'Harmony of the World, and make a totall change in Nature: It may not be superfluous, besides what hath been said in other places, to raise it here a little, and to withdraw it from the disdain which some would throw upon it.

The ancient *Romans*, whose least praise is, that they have not been imitated by any other Nation. They who were ordained to Govern the Common-wealth, that commanded all the world; They who had Commission to lead Armies, and subdue free people, became hearers of the Rhetoricians, and Disciples of the Philosophers: And though in the first Times, and golden Age of that Republique, the study of Sciences was not known, and that the persons of that time were instructed onely by Nature, and had no other Precepts to live well and do well, but th'Examples of their prede-

cessors

ceſſors and fellow Citizens. Though old *Cato* who deſerved all the praiſe of a perſon born for the good of others; who in his Country gained all th'honours of Peace and War; who raiſed the queſtion, whether he was a better Citizen or greater Captain, ſeems to have been an Enemy to men of Letters; The Judgement nevertheleſſe of a ſingle perſon, nor the Conſent of a few Ages, are not ever infallible, nor the ſoveraign Rule of the truth of things. Book. I.

'Tis true, that there are Sciences ſo ſuperfluous, and occupations of the Underſtanding ſo frivolous, that the loſſe of time is the leaſt Evill committed by them that make their Addreſs; which do not onely puzzle but corrupt; which divert from Action, diſſipate the powers of the ſoul; fill it with effeminate Habits, and make a man ſometimes unable to ſerve the publique, or to be uſefull to himſelfe: And ſuch were the Sciences from which no doubt *Cato* endeavoured to divert the *Romane* youth. But as for other Sciences that form th'underſtanding and refine Prudence; which rectifie Manners, and regulate the Duties of life; that fortifie Courage, and kindle the deſires of Glory; He could never have conſented, as I conceive, to the baniſhment of them from *Rome*, if they had been there taught; he would not have driven away the *Socratians*, the *Platoniſts*, th' *Ariſtotelians*, and th'other Maſters of human kind, as he did the *Greek* Orators; He would have known that from their Schools, did iſſue th' *Epimanondas's*, the *Xenophons*, and th' *Alexanders*; He had known that the Republiques called for them in Order to reformation, and that Tyrants ſent for them to ſecure their Dominion, and to make lawfull the countenance of a power whoſe beginning was unjuſt.

That if Ages ſometimes have produced great perſons for Peace and War, who became ſuch without th'ayd of Sciences, and the lights of Philoſophy; If the *Gothes* could not endure in their Country th'exerciſe of Learning. If ſome Pagan Emperours have judged it for the beſt Expedient to take away the hearts from Chriſtians, to leave them that ſullen contemplation, and that languiſhing Entertainment; And if *Lewis the Eleventh* would not ſuffer his Son to learn above five or ſix Latine words, which he believed to include the whole ſecret of Government, and to comprehend all the ſubſtance of that Art. As to the firſt, it muſt be confeſſed, that they were the ſtrains of Nature which fortune favours; that they were perſons of very good common ſenſe, and of very high Courage, and compleated by th'uſe of Affairs, and managment of Wars which they governed: Such have been the *Marians*, the *Tamberlaines*, and the firſt *Romanes* where-

Book 1. whereof we have above spoken. But it must be also acknowledged, that if study had been added to the rich gifts of Nature, and if Philosophy had cleared their understandings, that their valour had been fairer, and their glory more eminent; That it had not been stained with so many faults as it was, and that their valour so high and happy in their Youth, for being rooted in the body, had nor failed, nor departed in Age, as it hapned to some of them.

That if th'health of the Common-wealth changed, when Sciences flourished much at *Rome*, and if it fell in a time when its Captains were Philosophers; Philosophy for that Cause must not be charged with it. You must not condemn th'Innocent, nor believe that she who laboured to moderate the passions, and to purge the soul of its blots and weakness, did infuse that violent Desire to raign, and that immoderate Ambition, which could not be restrained, neither by the inclinations of blood, nor by the love of their Country. This great disorder then proceeded from the temper of certain spirits, who after they had a long time commanded in those Provinces, and given Lawes to the people, could not reduce themselves to equality, and civill obedience, nor suffer Companions and Masters. Moreover that whilst the *Romans* were imployed, and that stranger Enemies exercised them at home, they thought onely of subduing or defending themselves. But since all the world yeelded to their Virtue, or submitted to their Power; that with the Conquest of the World, the wealth of all Nations was brought to *Rome*: That great persons made many servants and parties in the midst of the City, and in the Provinces: That Prodigality and Luxury had devoured the best Families, and that the change of state had given hopes of the change of fortune to them, who could not be worse then in their present Condition; no wonder at the disorders that hapned. It must not be thought strange if Factions were raised where Ambition was so hot: if Novelty was desired, where there was so much Poverty, and so much Wealth: and if the Ruine of one of the parties was attended with the ruine of the State, where the power that was shared became absolute by victory.

As to the second, it may be agreed, that for the simple function of Souldiers, 'tis not of importance that they be furnished with knowledge and Learning. And 'tis true, that those Qualities which ordinarily swell up th'understanding and make it overflow; weaken obedience which is so necessary for them, and render them lesse tractable for commands; chiefly if they have not a great opinion of their Commanders; which they have but seldom, because they have too much

much for themselves. Besides that presumption which ariseth to them from the small advantages which Letters give them above others that have them not; causeth them not to expose themselves willingly but upon th'eminent occasions, and that they scorn to apply themselves to mean and small Factions, which are often a great occasion for great Executions, and to obtain the Victory. Wherefore *Lodowick Sforza*, who by his Ambition overthrew the peace of *Italy*, and opened the door to Strangers, who have since subdued it, said, *That a great Wit made an ill Condition in a Souldier, and that he received not easily into his service them who were proud of it*: 'Tis true also, that it infinitely concerns States that are obliged to entertain great Armies, and are jealous of the Reputation of Commerce, without which they become poor, and the Revenue of the Prince decayes; That there be not so great a number of Scholers, as are seen in *France*; That irregular number of men who cast themselves into the Church, or into th'exercise of Justice, is the cause that such formidable Armies, as heretofore cannot be raised, and that many who would make good Merchants, and their Families to flourish, if they had been bred in Trade, ruine or incommodate them, by becomming ill Doctors, and dangerous or unprofitable Members of the Court of Justice. Book. I.

For what concernes *Lewis th'Eleventh*, it must not be understood that his opinion comprehends all the duty of a Prince, and all the knowledge of Government: it makes but a little and dangerous party, and that there are nobler Maximes for Raigning, and more exalted Principles, than dissimulation. And truly the seeds of good which were in his Son, remained imperfect for want of improvement. His Courage that was high, wanted Rule and Conduct, and his Understanding had not force enough to resist the Corruption of them, that had invironed him, and the designs of his Ministers of State, who ruined his businesse to doe their own.

The Fourteenth Discourse.

That 'tis of importance that a Minister of State be Eloquent.

YOu have what I would say in defence of Letters, which help to forme th'Art of a Minister of State, and sometimes serve for a Guid, and Torch, to them who are to walk often in the dark, and amongst Precipices. It remaines now to speak a word of Eloquence, which is as th'hand of that

Book I. Art and Instrument wherewith it enters the hearts, stirs up the passions, gives to things the form she pleaseth, and renders her selfe Mistress of Men and Businesses. 'Tis a quality of an incomparable perfection which requires all the favours Nature can bestow upon a Body and Wit: All the polishings that Labour and Industry can bring unto it, and all that good Custome and Experience can adde unto it. 'Tis so full also of Glory, that 'tis never exposed to Disdains, as sometimes the Sciences are. She makes her selfe to be feared, if not to be beloved; she hath Lightnings as well as Crowns. She raigns in all places, and to that height, that she undertakes to change the order of Providence, and to take away the use of Liberty from the Causes, to which God had given it.

This Quality then which cannot be perfect, nor in its true Dignity without Virtue and Philosophy, is worthy of the Cares of a Minister of State. It wonderfully adornes Peace, and is of great service in time of War. 'Tis by her power that th'Ancient Orators protected the Innocency of particular persons, and defended oppressed Provinces. 'Tis by her force, that the fall of States hath been sometimes prevented, and fatall Conspiracies dissipated. 'Tis by her, that *Cicero* merited honours, which he preferred to the Triumph of Conquerors. And by her, he pretends to have place amongst the Founders and Restorers of the first Common-wealth of the world. 'Tis she that hath often secured the Victories that were doubtfull; that hath given courage to the Souldiers that had lost it; that struck fire and boldnesse into the souls of them who compelled Fortune to favour them, and that would die or overcome.

And without speaking of *Xenophon*, of *Cæsar*, and of the greatest Captains of Antiquity; who have gained in the Modern Ages a higher and clearer Reputation than *Scanderbeg*, than the great Captain, and than *Gaston of Foix*? And is it not true that these three great persons have alwaies begun to prepare the Victory by Discourse, and by perswasion, which after they compleated by Conduct and Valour. In effect, it is no small favour which God hath done to the reasonable soul, by giving it power to communicate its thoughts, and to bring to light its affections; And Speech is a present of an extraordinary price, wherewith she may distribute part of her excellencies: She can give without losse, and make rich without becoming poor; she can see the Treasures abroad she hath within her selfe, the Lights that beautifie her, and those admirable Representations whereof she is at the same time the Painter and the Table.

And

And 'tis for that chiefly, that she hath received so exquisite a Guist: For in relation onely to the Body, and the single necessities of th'animall life, 'Tis probable that Nature would have given it certain signs, and some exterior Motions to express them, as it hath done to Beasts and little Children. But as health of it selfe is a silent good, and is scarce felt, if pleasure do not animate it, and delight give it life; so the Dignity of Speech is unknown, if it be not accompanied with Graces, and expressed with Pomp. Book I.

It seems that Reason scorns to go abroad unless she be adorned; that she hath no force without allurements; and affects Complaisancy, that she may be useful: And 'tis Eloquence, and that divine faculty whereof we speak, which fits and trims Reason to so high an Admiration; 'Tis she that doth furnish her with Flowers and Ornaments; 'Tis she that causeth Reason not onely to bring Light to be understood, but also stirs up Love to be followed.

I will not speak here of the knowledge of *Sr. the Cardinal*, nor of the wonder, that laying out so much time for Action and Direction for publique Affairs, there should remain to him any time for his study, and for to gain that generall knowledge he hath of all good things. It were also to be ignorant of his strength and dignity of his subject. To speak of his Eloquence, it were to seek light from the Sun, to undertake the publishing of that Divine Faculty which is every day admired in Councills: which hath so eminently appeared in Assemblies, done so great services to *France*, and hath so often by his Mouth and Pen made the Christian truths to Triumph. 'Tis such, and his soul is so strangely imbued, that as there are places in the world, from whence nothing is taken, but what is perfumed and odoriferous; In liker manner, even the most familiar Discourses, and ordinary Entertainments of *Sr. the Cardinall*, hold forth some Tincture, and give some taste of the virtue of that excellent quality.

The Fifteenth Discourse.

That the Councill of a Prince ought to be composed of a few persons.

'Tis of importance that the Councill of a Prince be reduced to a few Heads, so as they be well chosen; and that the number be not the Evidence of his Dignity, but the Merit and Virtue of his Counsellors. Unity is the last measure of the perfection of things; and the first of all Beings,

Book I. is the most single of all others. This Being is God himselfe, who without suffering Division of Parts, or mixture of Qualities, is infinitely perfect within, and infinitely active without; and by a power infinitely pure, and infinitely single, and without th'adjunction of any forraine virtue, hath produced the wonders we see, and that variety of subjects which are united to make the world: And without him the most noble Natures, and most excellent, are the least composed and the most indivisible; And we rejoyce much more in a sight not limited in th'extents of its objects, and that can know all the colours of Nature, and the Figures of all Bodies; then if we had as many eyes as the visible Objects are divers, and Colours different in nature.

So, if it were permitted to make faire Dreams and magnificent Wishes, it were to be desired that a Prince alone should make up his Councill: That he were the sole Director of his business; That he were the sole intelligence to give it motion, and that he alone held the Helme, and handled the Scepter. But insomuch that such a Prince was never seen, and that th'Idæa remaines in th'head of *Xenophon*, that History doth not propose the like to us; that th'imperfection of humane things suffers it not; and that he who boasted that his Horse carried him and all his Councill, did sometimes commit such enormous faults and foolish errours, that all the world takes notice of them. A Prince ought at least so to order his business, that his power be not loose, that it enlarge not, and be restrained to a few persons, that it may be the more active and absolute, and its operation the more nimble and efficacious. But that the goodness of this order may appear the better, and th'advantages that accrew to a State, where it is observed to be the more evident; It may not be amiss to demonstrate it by the comparison of other formes of Government which are more disunited, and where the Authority to resolve businesse is more dilated; for the things of this world do appear best by opposition; the shadow quickens the colours and the Lights; Recovery from sickness is more agreeable then health: and there's no good that would not lose one halfe for its just price, if there were no evill contrary to it; I will say upon the subject in hand, a word of the Republique of *Venice*, of that of the *Suisses*, and of the Government of the *Polaques*, which is a mixt kind of Government, and composed of *Aristocracy* and *Monarchy*.

Lewis the Eleventh.

I think that no Republique was ever established with so great Wisdome, or that received Orders more apt to attain th'ends of a civill life, which is the happinesse of Inhabitants, then that of *Venice*: 'Tis not but that some have made

made a greater noyse in the world, and whose Empire hath been more enlarged, & Dominion more glorious. But as the greatest bodies, and of highest stature, are not ever the soundest; and as the vastest buildings are not alwaies the firmest: so the good policy of a State, and the goodnesse of its Composition, is not to be judged by th'extent of the Country it enjoys, & by the great quantities of Earth and Sea it commands; so whosoever considers the duration of the Republique of *Venice*, and its quiet for 1200 years, and observes that it hath never been strongly agitated within, and hath felt but a leight intestine sedition; may easily conclude that the Noble parts have been very sound, and that the Foundations are very deep and solid: And though of late it may seem that her Forces are diminished, that her best condition is past, and that the violence of some strange cause hath blasted the beauty of her Countenance; there's no matter of astonishment, nor any great wonder that old Age should produce wrinckles; that what is mortall should be sometimes sick; that the strong should offend the weak: and that Prudence should not alwayes be Mistress of Fortune, nor good events the necessary effects of good Counsels. Book. I

Though this be thus, yet there's some change to be wished, as to the manner of their Treating, and resolving th'affaires of that Republique; and 'tis a great mischief, that they are carryed through so many Assemblies, and pass by so many Heads, whereof the Senate is composed; the Secret which is never very safe with a multitude, hath much ado to be there preserved; Length is unavoydable there, and many times Fortune flies away, and good occasions are lost; whilst they deliberate, and before they have concluded. Heretofore in pressing-matters, and where dispatch was requisite, and Secrecy extraordinarily necessary, they were treated, and resolved in a Councell, which they called of *Ten*, with the same force and Authority as in the Senate. But they have since judged, that the supream Authority, attributed to Ten persons in matters regarding the whole State, was of too dangerous a consequence, and that that Order might in time by th'Ambition, and by th'Artifices of particular persons, degenerate into a pure Aristocracy, and corrupt th'essence of their Government, which is blended of three others.

From thence may be seen the fatality of humane things; that the good is ever accompanied with some evill, and that nothing is so well accomplished, as not in some part to be defective. Of all sorts of Government, under which the world rowls, the most excellent are not exempt from spots. 'Tis not, but that they who invented them, foresaw th'inconveniences

Book I. veniences: but that they could not do better, nor provide a Remedy, where none was to be had. Prudence is not so often imployed in chooſing the greateſt Good, as in avoiding the greateſt Evills; and as we ſee in the Compoſition of the humane body, that there are but a few parts capable of pleaſure, and which touch upon the pleaſant Objects: and that on the Contrary, all parts are expoſed to grief, and to ſhare Reſentments; ſo it happens that in all other things, th'evill enters by more wayes then the good, and finds more places to make its impreſſion, and exerciſe its violence. If this be to be ſeen in all of Nature, and if it be an experience which paſſeth even to Beaſts; it ought not to be thought ſtrange, if in a matter ſo mixed and ſo confuſed, as States are, and where Fancies ſo different, and Inclinations ſo various, do enter; if the pure good be not there found, nor ſuch a perfection as no ſort of vice can alter: Let's go on.

As to the Common-wealth of the *Suiſſes*, 'tis a ſort of Government very looſe, and in ſome meaſure tumultuous; The Bond that tyes them, is not ſtronger than that which joyns the Leagues; and there's onely this difference, that they do but ordinarily paſs, and have no durable cauſe; that they are not good, but to repell an Evill ſuddenly fallen upon ſome of the Confederates, and which threatens the reſt of them; or to prevent ſome ſtorm and inundation of ſome great approaching power; But ſo ſoon as the danger is over, or that th'oppreſſion is taken away, they fall of themſelves, and go out for want of aliment and matter.

Of this I will treat at length in the ſecond Part of this Work. But th'Union of the *Suiſſes* cannot periſh nor diſſolve, but by an outward violence; It hath an everlaſting foundation, which is jealouſie of Liberty; and though they dwell onely in Rocks, and that poverty ſtirs not from their houſes; yet they would not change their Condition, which appears not ſo ugly, but that there's great cauſe for them to be in love with it, and to believe that the Wealth which Nature hath denyed their Country, is plentifully repaired by the Independency wherein they have fixed themſelves, and by the Freedom under which they live. Their Policy then, which is at greater diſtance with Unity, than that of the *Venetians*, is by conſequence more imperfect, and hath greater Inconveniences: Secrecy is not to be found in their Meetings; the Convocation is made with extream tediouſneſs: Their Reſolutions are not taken but very late. And beſides th'error which is common to all Aſſemblies, To diſpute much, and conclude little; 'Tis certain the variety of Religions wherewith they are now in labour, cauſeth that when the Dyets are com-

composed of all the *Cantons*, that interests more opposite, and passions more opinionated are brought, than heretofore were practised; And it hath been seen, and we have made very troublesome experiences; that when our Forces were not fully known to us, and that our Infantry was almost raised out of *Suisses*; that the levies were so slowly made, and came so late to us, that very often we lost fair Occasions, or received notorious losses before we were in condition to resist or undertake; And that is one of the Reasons which obliged *Francis* the first, to establish Legions in the respective Provinces, to have the Body of an Army of *French* Infantry alwayes in readinesse, and not to depend, when he had a mind to Arm, upon th'humours of that heavy Nation, and fancies of so brutish and mercenary a people. Book I.

The Government of *Poland* is not a pure Monarchy, as I have said, but a mixt body composed of Aristocracy and Royalty. The King cannot deliberate any thing, nor undertake any thing for Peace or War, without th'Assembly of Nobles. This Constitution is subject to a thousand inconveniencies, and by reason of the tediousnesse it brings with it, 'tis at least certain it can never receive the Designs, where success depends upon the Promptitude, and where Execution ought to surprise and be Suddain, that it may be Happy; 'tis an Enemy to Secrecy, which is necessary to guide safely all sorts of Enterprises. It gives means to enemies, to use prevention, or to expect with Advantages, and to provide against the Tempest they see coming, and which grumbles and makes a noyse before it breaks out: There's nothing so easie as to steal-in Corruption and Schisme, and 'tis impossible in so numerous and irregular Collection of men, as compose their Assemblies, that all parts should be sound and unalterable; and that all the Members should agree upon the generall good of the Body, so composed. In a word, no great or extraordinary thing is to be expected from this kind of Policy, and the *Polaques* ought not to think of Conquests, or to extend by War the Bounds of their Country, so long as they govern themselves in that manner. On the contrary, they have often suffered great losses, and received notorious outrages from the Turk, from the *Muscovites*, and particularly from the *Tartars*, before they could draw their Forces together to repell them, and fight them upon their retract. And if Nature, or rather the Corruption of Mankind, had not raised other Thiefs, which are called *Cosaques*; They would suffer yet more invasions, and more suddain Enterprises from their first mentioned Enemies. But it seems that these *Cosaques* are the Counter-poyson, and Remedy,

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Book I. and often exchange it with them, and run with ruine and desolation into their Country, and even into the Dominions of the *Turk* who protects them.

And though it be thus, that this Policy hath so remarkable faults, It would be a difficult matter to reform it: The naturall Inclination which the Septentrionalls have for liberty, would make there a great resistance, and I doe not think that there's a benefit, which th'absolute and independent Authority of the King could promise to the *Polaques*, which would in their opinion equalize the pleasure and profit they find in being above their King; to do justice to themselves; to provide by their own hands against the evils that hurt them. And in a word, to taste of the soveraignty and absolute power. To speak freely, there are precipices on what side soever you look, and both extremities are attended with its Good and *evil*, and hath its Flowers and Thornes. And as th'Aristocratique and mixed Government is a bridle to Princes that would abuse their Authority, and hinders them to exceed: 'Tis true also, that when they have good Understanding, and an upright Will, the condition of their subjects is better then otherwise it would be; and the affairs of State breathe more wholsome Air, and take a safer Course. All nevertheless being well examined, the best expedient is that every person live conformable to the Laws and Customs of his Country were he dwels; That he love the forme of Government which is there established; that he observe the Policy there in use; and conceive that Change is the worst of all Evills that can be there introduced, which almost never enters without violence, and ever almost tears up that which it would take from its place.

The End of the First Book.

THE MINISTER OF STATE.

Book II.

First Discourse.

That a Compleat Minister of State ought to be able for Counsell, and for Execution; and ought to have a free power particularly for the War.

'Is certain that a single Quality makes not up the perfection of Administration; and to form it, th'highest powers of Man are necessary, and the noblest habits of those powers. It is not satisfied with that, nor content onely with th'inward beauty, and with private satisfaction. It's Inclinations are more vast and ambitious: It suffers, if it remain concealed; It desires the Light; It will appear abroad; It must enlarge and communicate it selfe; In a word, Action is her end and her Crown, and without it, it should be a treasure half lost: or as the veins of Gold in the bosome of th'Earth, which no person hath discovered. Her beginning is that light of the Soul, and that product of th'understanding, which is called Prudence. But as the light of the Sun is a generall Quality, and which alone would produce nothing; so Prudence hath use of divers other Virtues to execute her Orders, and to give motion to her Deliberations. And again,

Book II. as those Virtues have need of her Light and Influence, to know th'object whereon they ought to look and to pursue; In like manner also Prudence refines her selfe by th'exercise of those Virtues, and by the troubles and stormes which the imperfection of humane discourse lets fall. They take them away, and are made clearer by experience. 'Tis not necessary that he who deliberates should alwaies execute; That he who hath a very sound head, should have also strong Arms; nor that he who hath Prudence, should have all the virtues requisite for Action; 'tis sufficient that she guide them and direct them in what subject soever they are found, and upon what matter soever they are imployed. But as th'Artificer judgeth much better of the work of his hands, and of th'excellency of his Idæa, when he sees it upon the Cloth or the Marble; so Prudence also is much better assured of the goodnesse of its Judgements, by th'Effects then by the single Discourse that precedes them, and by the sole Agitation of the Reason which goes before: And in my opinion, 'tis of that perfect prudence, and which use hath compleated, that *Aristotle* is to be understood, when he saies, *That there's no true Prudence without th'other Morall Virtues.*

'Tis true, that when these Virtues do meet in her company, when they dwell together, when they proceed from a common principle, and from the same Root; Their Conduct is more certain and more happy; Prudence is the more intentive upon her businesse; She governs them with more tractablenesse, and by constant illuminations; secures them with more ease from the Ambushes of Fortune, and from th'unexpected inconveniences of the times; Wherefore in matters of War, th'execution of an enterprise ought alwaies to be committed to him who proposed it, provided he be a capable person to perform it; for therein he is excited to do well, by the glory of Success, and by the jealousie of his opinion, which is a violent and imperious passion; and, straying to defend the noblest and most exalted faculty of the Soul, which is the Judgement, seldom abates of the Contest and pursuit. As also it is not safe to put th'execution of a design into the hands of them that voted against it; who will be alwaies slow in Action; who will bring to it but the halfe of themselves; who will have but faint motions, and conformable to the passions that shake them, which are irresolution and distrust,; and who have wherewithall to comfort themselves in th'ill of success, by the truth of the Prediction they had made, and by the Reputation of wisdom, and providence they had gained to themselves.

Though it be so, and much better, that he who is capable

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to resolve, be also capable to execute; 'Tis nevertheless a rare encounter amongst men; and as there are but few places on th'Earth which bring forth all that respects the pleasures of the Senses, and the necessities of Life; so, there are but few souls that have all the virtues proper for Government; and it seems that the Law of humane Society, as that of Nature, would have a dependency betwixt the spirits of men; as there is a Commerce and Communication betwixt divers Countries, and different Nations of the World, so the Coldness of *Parmenio* tempered th'heat of *Alexander*; so the Wisdom of *Cyneas* restrained the Courage of *Pyrrhus*: so *Scipio* observed th'orders of *Lælius*, and *Augustus* found a temper in the prudence of *Mecænas*, and valour of *Agrippa*, to which nothing was impossible. Book II.

Wherefore a Minister of State that hath all these perfections, ought to be of high price with his Prince: The State ought to reverence him as an extraordinary person; and the virtues which being severed merit a price, and to be esteemed; deserve highly some new respect, and a particular Veneration, when they joyn in a single subject for the generall good of the World: At least 'tis certain, that th'ill which attends the great variety of Agents is avoided; They that uphold them, agree rarely together in the same Design: Concord is seldom found amongst them, unless it be in Looks and Words, because th'heart is false, or interessed; and Jealousie is there the stronger, for that it proposeth to it selfe the possession of so great a good, as the favour of the Prince, and the power of the State; They that are onely for Counsell, and whose virtue shines only in the Cabinet Councell, encline alwaies to peace, how dishonourable soever. 'Tis then they truly raign, when all other greatness bowes to theirs. And that they see at their feet the glory of Armes, and the Crowns of the Victorious. On the contrary, during the War they are out of countenance, and their Authority declines in that troublesome season. They are darkned by a profession that hath more pomp and light then theirs; And in regard that those who are called to Command, are usually extraordinary persons, it makes them strongly jealous, and apprehend th'encrease of power upon the spirit of their Master, and the taking of root in his Inclinations; wherefore they endeavour to make them unprofitable, that they might be the lesse considerable. They trouble them in their employments, that they might be the lesse happy. The great Victories make them more afraid then great Losses, and our Generalls have often seen dis-banded th'Armies they Commanded, and enterprises ruined, whereof the Begin-

Book II. ginnings were plauſible; for having not timely received, or in the fit Quantity the proviſions neceſſary for continuing of the War. They on th'other ſide prolong the troubles, and lengthen the confuſion to th'uttermoſt of their power, to ſubſiſt in Credit and eſteem. They love the ſtormes becauſe they help to guide the Ship? They deſire ſickneſſe, becauſe they are imployed in applying the Remedies; but nevertheleſſe they would have no end made, for fear of remaining idle Pylots, and unprofitable Phyſitians. Moreover they complain alwaies firſt: They frequently accuſe them of their own faults, and eaſe themſelves upon them of th'envy of their ill ſucceſſes and diſgraces that attend it.

And when it doth not ſo happen, and that there ſhould be amongſt them a perfect underſtanding and generall agreement; The Obligation nevertheleſſe which ſome of them are under to receive Orders for Action from others, and that regular Dependency, is ever importunate, and ſometimes pernicious; Whilſt they conſult the Councell of the *Prince*, occaſions do paſſe; Things take another Countenance, and ſo many unexpected Accidents happen, for which ſuddain proviſion muſt be made, that by their Violence they are carried away before Remedy can be applied, and the buſineſſe periſheth for not daring to relieve it when it was in their power. This unhappineſſe hath been particularly obſerved in ſome of our Neighbours States. The *Venetians* have made little uſe of th'occaſions of the War, and their Generalls have often ſeen a good occaſion paſſe away before them, without daring to ſtay it, or to hinder it from flying away, becauſe they had not the *Senate's Order*. They begin alſo to withdraw from that dangerous Maxime, and are no more ſo ſcrupulous as they were, to permit them to act of themſelves, and to take th'Advantages which offer themſelves. It is alſo obſerved, that th'affairs of the Low Countries ſuffered much for the ſame reaſon towards th'end of the life of *Philip the ſecond*; and that they changed extreamly by reaſon of the great delayes they were conſtrained to uſe at the time of the want of his health, and decay of his age; Th'ill was, that they would take moſt cogniſance of all things when they could worſe do it, and were moſt earneſt to retain buſineſſe when the time was elapſed. That Prince changed his Conduct, and in ſafer occaſions he was accuſtomed to give almoſt a ſoveraign Authority to them whom he imployed. The *Duke of Alva* had it moſt abſolute when he came into *Flanders* to make War to the growing Rebellion. *Don John of Auſtria* had it very large, when he was choſen chiefe of the Chriſtian League againſt the *Turk*, after the Conqueſt of

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Portugal; The *Cardinal Albert* had an unlimitted power to reform the Kingdom, and *Philip* the second procured him a Legation, that he might act with the greater Authority, and he was at one and the same time absolute Judge of temporal and spiritual Affairs. Book II.

Insomuch that if the *Cardinall* had carried with him in his second journey, beyond the Mountains, a Commission as ample as some have described it; and that the noyse which was but a Fable, had been true, it had not been new nor without Example; Our Neighbours have shewed us the way, and that Nation also which understands th'Art of governing better then any Nation in the World. But the moderation of this Lord hath been such, that he sought not any extraordinary Power in that Occasion: That he hath not done nor undertaken any thing, but by the expresse Orders of the King, and they that have studied his Life, and observed his demeanour, know that he hath chosen rather to be considered by th'Actions of the compleatest Obedience which a Subject can give to his Soveraign, than by the particular marks of Honour and Affection which he could have received. But beyond this, let us confesse, that he is that extraordinary person, who hath in an eminent degree all the Qualities fit for governing, which are rarely seen, but severed in others; who executes what he adviseth; appears in Calms and Tempests; who hath deserved th'honour of Peace, and the triumph of War, and in whom Virtue is not limited, neither by the Condition of the Times, nor Diversity of Affaires.

The Second Discourse.

whence the Virtue of keeping a Secret proceeds, and how necessary it is for a Minister of State.

WE have shewed in the precedent Discourse, how necessary it is that the Councill of a Prince be reduced to a few persons, and how difficult it is for a multitude of persons to keep a Secret; This may be added to th'happinesse of the King's Raign, that never Councill was more faithfull then his, nor where the secret of Affaires lay more secure. The number is very small, but of excellent persons. Nothing is capable to untie their Tongue but when it is necessary. They are not weak, nor to be Corrupted. Their Virtue is proof to all Trialls. That Condition is particularly remarkable in him who is the Chief, and in whom resides that Unity which is a Beam from the Soveraignty, and the

Book II. last measure of the perfection of things. Few persons have been of profounder thoughts, nor of higher exaltations of soul; And but few have been seen tha could better retaine them, or that were more the Master of them. And nevertheless the best thoughts of the world, and the most happy productions of wit have this in them, that they ought to resemble fruits which should be gathered in season, that they may be wholsome; but they have this Imperfection, that they are like to Wine, which when it is new, endeavours to break out and to run out: The wit of man is so in love with it selfe, and hath so hot a thirst to make it selfe known; that so soon as it hath conceived something which may, as it believes, deserve praise, hath impatience to discover it: It makes haste to bring it to light; it cannot attend the just time of delivery; and it ordinarily falls out, that it loseth by too much haste the value of what would have been excellent, if it had been brought forth in season, and had ripened at leasure. Besides this defect which is alwaies naturall to us, and which is the proper *French* Temper; There's another Cause for which the greatest part of men cannot conceal long a design, without giving it Air, nor retain unto themselves a good Thought; 'Tis the small power they have to resist common reports, and th'opinions that run abroad. It hath alwaies been th'humour of the people to be the Censurers of the designs of Princes, and of the conduct of their Counsellors. 'Tis a disease which cannot be cured in them; And it seems to them, that after they have made them their superiours, and have put their goods and lifes into their hands; that at least the liberty is reserved unto them of judging of their abilities; Strange folly, that they who make so ill and crooked Judgements in their own affairs, whereof th'extent is so short, and th'intelligence so easie; constitute themselves Arbiters of State-affairs, whose principall circumstance is secrecy, and which ought to be in th'eyes of the people, as propheſies, which are not to be understood but by their success.

And nevertheless, though the knowledg of things be hid from them as much as may be, & that the Causes are concealed; they forbear not to pry into them, & that they may have alwaies matter of distu bance: And wherewith to torment themselves unprofitably; They believe all things their sense represents unto them, or that another passion suggests unto them. A dexterous person then, and one who hath a strong understanding and high Courage; makes alwaies towards his End without disturbance for these popular infirmities. He rests in peace, whilst they who have nothing to do, but

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to take their ease, and cherish their health, are in trouble and in a feaver; and imitates the Heavens which alter not their Course for the Tempests of th'Aire, nor for the noyse that is made in that stormy Region. On the Contrary, weak understandings cannot sustain the liberty of Judgements, nor th'indiscretion of Tongues; The conjectures of Curious, and the speculations of idle persons offend them; They make haste to give a reason of their Designs, and by a precipitated judgement which they passe upon them, they see them abortive or fatal. Book II.

Sr. the Cardinal hath not done the like; When Envy was raised against him, when the Wits did mutiny against his Government; when his Enemies opposed him silently, or have assaulted him by outward force, or by publique Defiance; all that, hath not disordered him. His Actions were neither slow nor confused: And, as if such Difficulties improved his Judgement, or gave him new Forces; He never appeared so intelligent, or so valiant, as in all occasions that seemed to be desperate. Whilst th'*English* possessed th'Iland of *Rhee*, and that *Languedoc* was in Rebellion; and that one part of the *Huguenots* had declared themselves, and th'others observed the successe of forraine enterprises; That the discontented Catholiques did rejoyce at th'ills of the *State*, and that others feared the future which they saw troubled and full of storms; never person was more exposed to complaints and ill language, then himselfe. Indiscretion was extream; Insolency raised to threats, and that purple which is Venerable in th'eyes of Catholiques, and the Dignity of a Prince of the Church, were in danger of that common Liceense, of being violated: His soul nevertheless changed not its place; His Courage was not shaken; He did not use violent or faint Remedies, as had been sometimes done to stay the Disorder; He did not use hatefull preservatives against an ill, which inflames by opposition, and is provoked by resistance: He chose rather to fight them with the greatness of his Actions, than by the fear of his punishment; and resolved that his Virtue should confound th'Artifices of the wicked, and th'Errours of the simple.

But how many sinister Judgements and sharp discourses, did the siege of *Rochell* raise? How many passions did that Town stir up amongst the Protestants, and amongst the Catholiques? How many Oppositions were set on foot against that Design, in the Kingdom and abroad, by them who were our declared Enemies, and by them who would seem to be our friends? What had not been said of th'expence of that siege, if being so vast it had been unprofitable? How much

Book II. much had they cryed out against us, if we had suffered our Allies to perish, and if that we had not reduced to obedience the rebellious *French*. And nevertheless, so many different passions, and all those irregular Motions, did not stop our pursuit, nor th'heat of an Enterprise, which hath secured the foundations of the State, and the foot of the Crown. And at that last business of *Italy*, How many disgracefull Discourses, and outragious Murmurings did it produce against the Reputation of that great Minister of State? It seemed that there were persons hired in all places, of purpose to cry down his Actions; His Enemies had found th'occasions they sought for, to discharge their Malice with colour, and vomited their Hatred with liberty: The people that ordinarily wish ill to them that govern them, and suffer themselves alwaies to be led by running Reports, especially when they are bad, remember no more th'evill from which they were delivered, but demand the good which they could not so soon receive, and few persons considered what was done, nor the progress of the Kings Armes, nor his Conquests, but what was yet to be done; Even our Allies applyed themselves to us for repair of their Losses: And as if they could not be imprudent or unhappy in our Company; It seemed good to them that we should answer for their faults, and for their disgraces; and the worst Accident of all, was the sickness of the King, so very violent, that it gave no place for hopes to honest men, and in such a conjuncture, that if this Prince had dyed, the world must have changed its face, and must have taken another Course, then what it ought to follow. In this Confusion of Spirits, and of Affaires, the Constancy of *Sr.* the *Cardinall*, lost not it selfe; His Reason was still awake, the Provisions for the relief of *Casal*, were not interrupted; and he made it appeare that the wise Man is above all passions; and the true griefe he suffered for the love of so great a Master, left him strength and Address enough not to let go the Helme, and to bring us to our Haven in spight of contrary winds.

The Third Discourse.

That a Minister of State cannot have an equall Soul, unless he hath made tryall of Good and Bad Fortune.

THe quality whereof we have lately spoken, and that invincible constancy which is necessary for a Counsellour of State, is not a disposition of the soul, which nature hath infused, or that Philosophy hath compleated. It hath be

besides these, need of exercise to form it; And that divine Temper which hath its Roots in our selves, and hath cause to raise it selfe betwixt the Discourses of Reason, and Examples of History, ought to take its just growth from the Trials where fortune doth place us, and from the various Countenances it shews unto us. There's nothing in the world she suffers with more impatience, nor that she beholds with more maligne and more envenomed eyes. In every place where 'tis found, she assaults it; in all places she forms parties against it, she will have it by force or by Artifice, and no causes or dissimulations shall be wanting to corrupt it, nor rudenesse of violence, that shall not be exercised to overthrow it. So they that can warrant themselves against her designes, and have power enough to resist her Charmes, and her outrages; have competent Qualities t'aspire to the Government of State; wherefore *Galba* protests, in *Tacitus*, that he called *Piso* to the succession of th'Empire, because he had been unhappy and constant. And that he whom fortune could not overcome, was worthy to command the people of *Rome*; and to give Lawes to the Conqueror of Nations, and Triumpher over th'Earth. 'Tis to know onely the Moyety of ones Life, to have tasted onely of prosperity; 'Tis not to have sayled far, to have the winds alwaies in Poope, and the Sea propitious; 'Tis to have matter onely for a part of the virtues which compose a Minister of State, to have been ever happy; Adversity hath also her Virtues, as night hath her Stars: There are some that are wholly proper for it, and which cannot be practised but in so rude a season, nor appear but in tumults, and in the midst of storms. Book II.

The life of *Sr. the Cardinall*, ought to be too highly raised, not be exposed to this variety of Accidents, and too eminent to want examples of every Virtue. His Actions have deserved Clappings from all hands, and praises from all Mouthes; They have given him dayes of Triumph, they have pierced the most retired parts of the World, and in all places there are but a few Names so great as his, after that of his Master; But he hath had his back-blowes and contradictions; He hath not been exempted from private Misfortunes, and publique Vexations. Fortune and Envy have diversly exercised him; notwithstanding, his Courage failed him not; his Conduct was equall. The Revolution that surrounded him, made no change in him, and what soever happened, his soul was neither puffed nor abated; this equality nevertheless is not ordinarily found. And as amongst the brightest Colours, there are but a few that preserve the same

Book II. lustre, and the same apparance to the light of a Day, and to the light of Torches: Histories have also furnished us but with a few examples of Illustrious persons, who have been equall in Prosperity and Adversity: *Spain* commends the constancy of the *Duke of Alva*, and that he was never so great as in his afflictions. But it confesseth also, that prosperity made him overflow; that he was insolent when he was prosperous; and that the Victories he gained were odious to his Masters, though they were profitable unto them.

On the contrary, let us consider the three Princes of *Spain*, that have known how to raign for an Age and halfe, and have dared to introduce immortall Designes, in a form of Government where Soveraigns dye, and which changeth often their Masters: Lets consider, I say, *Ferdinand*, *Charles* the fifth, *Philip* the second, and we shall find that all their lives have been nothing but a Composition of good and evill, and a confusion of contrary things. We shall there see Prosperity without Number, Disgraces without Measure; Wounds dressed with Laurels, Triumphs adorned with Mourning; and above all that, constant and firm Courages, and an immoveable Virtue.

Behold *Ferdinand*, glorious in the reduction of the Kingdom of *Granada*, and with the Title of Catholique; Behold him triumphant in the Conquest of *Naples*, and of the fortune of *France*. Behold that a fancy gives him *Navarre*, and that chance finds him an unknown world and new wealth. This neither enflames him, nor effeminates him; He is not the more lazy, nor the lesse vigilant; He formes greater designs, and layes the Platform of a Monarchy which shall exercise his Nephews a long time, and trouble the rest of other Nations, and the peace of the world. Moreover, lets contemplate th'ill successe of his life, and th'other side of the Medall. We shall see a Prince ill handled by fortune, and a Diadem bruised by her strokes. We shall see a Father bury his own Son, and make Funeralls for his eldest Daughter: A Husband that loseth his Wife, who was his Glory; and had been more the Companion of his troubles than of his bed; A Master abandoned by his Servants and Creatures; an old Man forced from his House, and a Father in law stripped by his own Son in law. In this Sea of Disgraces and of Afflictions, we shall also see an admirable serenity of spirit. A Calm that overthrows not it selfe; or if there was some kind of emotion, it did not pass into a storm, and was not violent nor dangerous. 'Tis true, that his Courage had a weakness in it which I cannot conceal, and a fault too visible to be dissembled; which is, not to have been able to suffer the re-

reputation of the great Captain, nor the Virtue of his own Subject that was faithful unto him. As to his Nephew *Charles*, 'tis certain that he was never so tractable as in prosperity, nor so inflexible as in Adversity. He never yeelded to force; no Prince of his time gave so much, and lost so little; and the *Spaniards* say that he never broke his word, but t' exercise Clemency, and to pardon his Enemies, whose Ruine he had sworn: During the tempest that arose in the Haven of *Algiers* against his Fleet, and when the Heavens destroyed it in his sight, no other word ever went out of his Mouth, than that wherewith our Saviour *Christ* hath taught us to pray, *That thy will be done*. He was humbled, but not overcome by that disgrace, and in that terrible *Chaos*, where th'Elements were confounded, and Nature in disorder, His Courage stood firm, His Judgement lost not its Light: and he gave order for the embarking of his Troops, which were not perished, with the same liberty of soul as before he had done, when he returned Triumphant from the taking of *Thunis*, and from the spoils of *Africa*. The life of *Philip* is a Table much mixed, and a representation of divers formes, and contrary Adventures; On the one side are seen Countries gained or recovered; the Springs of Gold and Silver discovered; Victory obtained against *Christians*, and Infidels, and that incomparable Advantage to govern peaceably, from th' Escuriall, a part of two worlds, and to be feared in the middle of his Cabinet, from one end of th'Earth to th'other. But lets turn our sight a little, and we shall find that this prosperity had frequent and long Eclipses, and that the shadows of the Pictures exceeded the lively Colours. We shall encounter the Death of four wives which he tenderly loved: The fancies of his eldest Son which gave him so much trouble, and forced him to put off the resentment of a Father, to execute th'office of a King, and function of a Judge: The jealousies which the good successe and great virtue of *Don John of Austria* gave him. The defeat of his Ships by Tempests, and by Enemies; The Rebellion of the Low Countries which have deserted *Spain*, and made poor the *Indies*. And amongst all that, and in the midst of that Revolution. and that confusion of Accidents, not to wander, and to preserve his Constancy; It must be acknowledged, that it belongs to such persons by all sorts of Rights, to govern the People, to be Superiours on Earth, and soveraign Arbiters of the destiny of men. Amidst so many good successes and rude experiences, wherein the virtue of *Philip* was not lost, I have made choice of a very remarkable Example; 'Tis of them that enter in prosperity, and be in the favours of fortune,

Book II.

Book II. tune, and th'evidences of Love which she giveth. And therefore 'tis the fairer that 'tis so rare, and that 'tis more difficult not to be overcome by pleasure, than to resist force, and to prevent bending than breaking. And as a gentle and temperate heat penetrates our bodies easier than the cold, because they expatiate themselves to receive it, and cloze to repell the cold. So th'Allurements of prosperity are more active, and enter sooner into the soul, which by desire, and the hope of enjoyment, goes to meet them, than by th'attempts of ill fortune, against which the soul fortifies her selfe, and defends all th'Avenues by which she might assault it. After then that the *Christians* had gained the battel of *Lepantha*, and that God had given them that memorable Victory, the price whereof was lost by their ill Conduct; He that carried the news to *Philip*, was so transported above himselfe, and seized upon by so strange an emotion, that with great difficulty could he make the report of it. On the contrary, *Philip* stood as cold as if it had not concerned him, and so little moved, as if the news had been indifferent unto him. He replyed onely with a serious Face, and settled Countenance, *THAT* DON JOHN *HAD MUCH HAZARDED*. From what cause soever this coldnesse proceeded, either from a spirit abated by a long Apprehension, least the battel should be lost, or from a soul prepared for all sorts of chances, and for all the Accidents of life; or else from a Consideration which suffered him not to rejoyce at the glory of an Action, whose principles it may be he did not esteem reasonable enough.

From what cause soever, I say, it proceeded; the view is alwayes fair, and the substance very noble. And I am no more astonished, if the person, who was not transported for a success, which delivered *Italy* from an approaching Ruine, and all *Christendom* from a great fear; received since with an apparent Tranquillity or true Constancy, the newes of the Routing of the Fleet, which had cost him so much money, and ought to have tyed *England* to the Chain, and contented himselfe to say, *That he had not sent his Fleet to fight against the Winds*.

The constancy of Ministers of State, hath this advantage over that of Soveraigns, That the Soveraigns are alwaies pittied in their ill successe, though it happen by their fault; and that Love or Respect which the people bears them, doth discharge them from th'envy of the Losses which they make by their imprudency. On the contrary, they cast upon the Ministers of State, all th'evill of the State, though they are not guilty. They require from them a continuall felicitie,

though

though it be not in their power. They will have them se- Book II.
curity for all the chances, though they ought onely to se-
cure their Counsels. They make them instruments of all their
afflictions, and of all their sufferings, though ordinarily their
sins are the cause. In briefe, they handle them in the same
manner, and with the same injustice as the first *Christians* were
handled by the *Pagans*, who took exceptions to them for
th'anger of Heaven, and for the wounds of th'Empire, and
made them th'Authors of th'Inundations, and of the steri-
lities, and of the plagues, wherewith the Nation was grieved.
Truly, *Sr. the Cardinal* hath alwaies acted in such manner,
that what Countenance soever th'Affaires have taken, and
whatsoever traverses the time hath raised, he was never a-
stonished nor cast down; He abated nothing of his pursuit;
He continually respected the Dignity of the Master he ser-
ved, and the reputation of the Crown which he laboured to
sustain. And whatsoever happened unto him, & how strange
soever the Tempest was, he resolved to perish with the
Government in his hand, and to be able to say, what *Francis*
the first wrote to his Mother, after the loss of the Journey to
Pavia; *All is lost except th' Honour*. But his Courage which hath
shined so eminently in Disgraces, was not effeminated in pro-
sperity, and that magnanimity which he expressed in his ill
fortune, when it undertook to exercise him, changed it
selfe into an excellent Moderation, and into a most perfect
acknowledgement of that which proceeded from th'hand
of God, and from the fortune of a Prince.

The Fourth Discourse.

That the Science to discover the merits of Men, and t'employ them, is necessary for a Minister of State.

ONe of the Noblest Conditions which formes the Mini-
ster of State, and the perfection of Administration is
the Science to discern other men, and th'Art to employ
them: Truly, as our soul, how heavenly soever it is, and all
spirituall, hath need of the Body to make its operations:
And as God makes use of second Causes, to govern with
them the World, and to renue Nature; so a Minister of State,
how excellent soever he may be, hath necessary use of a num-
ber of persons, to labour with him, and to help him to car-
ry th'Engine of the State, and burthen of Affairs. 'Tis the
Pilot that ought to give Motion to all other Officers in the
Ship. 'Tis th'head that ought to put in exercise th'Armes, and
th'other parts of the Body; And as that ancient Captain

Book II. found no Title so glorious, nor Argument more magnificent to make himselfe known, than to answer him who demanded of him, If he was a man of compleat Arms, or an Archer, or a light Horseman; *That he was the person that commanded all those men there.* So a principall Minister of State, ought to have a spirit, superiour to other Officers of State, and not to be ignorant of the Duties of Generals of Armies, nor of the Duties of Judges, nor of them who manage the Treasury. This Condition is remarkable in *Sr. the Cardinal*; and 'tis true, if a man have but one good Quality, he knows how to make choice of it in the midst of many defects, and to discern a Grain of Gold in the midst of Gravel and Dung. The Earth is not more various in its proprieties, nor the Heaven in its influences, than men are in their Tempers and Inclinations. And 'tis an extraordinary thing to find a soul capable of all sorts of good, or a Temper proper for all the functions of the soul; Lets place here some few of its Differences, and of its Proprieties, for the clearing of our subject. They in whom Imagination is predominant, and who have subtil & hot spirits, are very proper for th'*Intrigue*. They are Rich in expedients, and have present Apprehensions which warrant them from surprises, which suffer them not to be confounded, and which resist the first impression of Accidents which have not been foreseeen; and the newness of Occurrences. They speak ordinarily with grace, and express themselves with facility. Their Action hath somewhat, I know not what, that pleaseth, and a certain Harmony which charmes the senses, and glides even to Reason, and to th'Affections of the soul; They are bold to undertake, and for that Difficulties appear lesse to them then they are, or beneath their strength; They cast themselves blindly upon them; they precipitate in stead of walking; And if they meet with a Ditch in the way, it stops them not; either they fall in, or leap over it. They are pleased with Noyse, and love Disturbance; they appear strong in troubled times, and the Confusion of Affaires is their element, and the matter which is proper for them. They do sometimes great things; and 'tis not possible that undertaking much, all should succeed ill. That they encounter onely, if they fail in their choice, Hazard, where th'Election is of no use to them, and that being so seldom wise, they are never happy; They are nevertheless of great service, and of incredible profit, when they fall under the Direction of a wise man, who tempers th'heat by his judgement, and moderates their impetuosity by his Prudence. And as Philosophy observes, That Choller serves for a spur to Virtue, and puts life to it: 'Tis al-

also true, that when these active humours are accompanied with a good Sense, and perfect Reason, nothing seems difficult or impossible to them; But also when they are Masters of their Actions, and Arbiters of Affaires; their Conduct is much to be feared: It is more dangerous then profitable; They cannot commit easie faults, having alwaies great designes in their heads, and they seldom fail of making them, having not circumspection enough, or foresight to avoid them. They that are of a cold temper, and in whom reason abounds, are more fit to govern. And though their Actions are not so glaring and tumultuous as th'others are, yet they are more lively and more efficacious; The common people, who have no understanding but for th'objects of sense, and comprehends but what it sees, and what it toucheth, admires these lesse then the former persons. They are nevertheless of a higher price in the judgement of wise men; and have the same Advantage of them, th'Architects have of Masons; that Pilots have of Mariners; and that they who draw the designs of Pictures, have of them who know onely how to mingle their Colours, and to habit the Figures? They seldom contribute to the fall of States by Imprudency; in so much that the first Law they observe, is, to commit no faults. As the first Inclination which Nature gives us, is to shun th'Evill, and what is contrary to us. They seldom shipwrack, because they know the nature of the Seas, and of the Winds; That they know how to foresee the Tempests, and that they put out in time, and gain timely the Haven; They are fit for War and Peace; they are good to gain, and to preserve: their Virtue is ever present, and there's neither condition of time, nor exception of affaires that hinders them to act, or renders them unprofitable. There are others in whom Imagination may find heat enough to act, if there were driness enough, and if it were not drowned in the Flegme, and in an abundance of moysture which duls and cooles it. And nevertheless they have not the vivacity of the first, nor the prudence of the second. I speak of that high and divine Virtue which resides in the understanding, and in that supream Region of the soul, which is the Guide and Torch of other Virtues, and which chooseth the means of things that are feisable; for as to the rest, they have but an imperfect and diminutive virtue, which is as the Shadow, and a light impression of the true; if *Aristotle* must be believed: Their principall study is to hide their defects, to daube the breaches which they cannot make up; to paint the face, and to deceive the world with apparances of Good, and by po-

Book II.

stern

Book II. ster Virtues. But in so much that 'tis hard to appear a long time what a man is not, and that a lame person counterfeits to little purpose, when he cannot walk far, but he will be observed; so th'Art of these men is easily discovered, and a little Conversation undresseth that borrowed person, and that Stage-Player; when they are in Imployments, they are secret t'excesse. They keep silence not by discretion, but by feare; and in so much that they cannot distinguish betwixt the things they ought to conceal, and such as ought to be published; They suppresse all, and so betray sometimes innocently th'honours of their Master, and the Reputation of his Affairs. they bring some design and subtilty to all they do, which is that petty and imperfect Prudence, whereof, as I have said, *Aristotle* makes mention. But had he been of our time, he had also known, that as the Alchymists being unable to make perfect the Mettals that are not, change them that are, and thereof make false Money: so also it happens that these subtill persons being not able to conduct their little Artifices, aud the disposition they have to subtilty, even to the true Prudence; change it into Jugling, and make an Art of it, which is the slime of humane society, and the poyson of Commerce. They have nevertheless commonly somewhat of good, and were not made by chance; Heaven hath cast some favourable aspect upon them, and they are capable to serve, if they are imployed according to their Forces. If they are not good to deliberate and to resolve, they are good for th'execution of such Orders as are prescribed them; They want not confidence to act, nor compleasancy t'insinuate into the spirits of them, with whom they treat. They are exact to perform their charge, they shun not labour; and though the softnesse of their Complexion withdraws them from it; their duty nevertheless whereof they usually have care, and the vanity whereof they are ever sick, presse them to it, and maintain them in it: That is also the cause that they are not very wicked; That they are not capable of great Vices, no more then of great Virtues. And, if th'Example doth not Corrupt them, or some violent occasion transport them. That they will never be guilty of those black Actions which stain th'Honour, and destroy the Conscience.

There's a fourth kind of Men, who have the soul heavier then all th'others, and in whose Composition Nature hath laid up more of Earth. These men are capable of great paines and long patience; they never yeeld to labour; they never work but to work; they know not what belongs to honest leisure. And that rest which is th'end of th'active

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Life, and which the Philosophers seek for to be happy, is their torment and misery. They are unapt for Negotiation: But in so much that in the midst of that Mass whereof they are compounded, they have some beam of good sense; and although their Understanding makes no flame, it hath nevertheless some sort of clearness; they are not to be despised; they are not improper for the *Oeconomy*: They may serve in an Army to presse on labour; to make provisions for Victuals, and for the like services, wherein the Body hath a greater share then th'Understanding, but that they have need of both. Book II.

The Fifth Discourse.

Of a fifth Temper, which comprehends the perfections of all th'others.

TO conclude, There's a fifth Order of Constitutions, which a few persons enter into, and which the world sees seldomer than Miracles: For this, Nature opens all her Treasures, becomes prodigall of her graces, draws forth her Art, and goes to the very bottom of her power; And as the ordinary Constitutions are formed of the substance of the Elements, and of the hidden virtues of Heaven, which are mingled with Harmony and Symmetry: It seems that these are composed of what others have of most rare and pure; that they are Extracts and Elixirs; and that the bodies which are so furnished, are not Prisons for the soul, but very commodious Palaces; nor rebellious slaves, but tractable Servants, or obedient Subjects. In effect, As th'Heavens have generall Qualities, and which agree, and enter into society with all the qualities of th'Elements, and of the Bodies which they produced; In like manner those divine Constitutions whereof we speak, are proper to all the faculties of the soul, and for all the operations of those faculties; There's nothing in them of malignant, nor any thing that hinders; Th'abundance of the memory makes not the judgement poore: th'Action of th'understanding doth not lessen the benefits of the Memory, and dissolves not its Representations; Memory and Judgement take not from the Understanding its edge, its vivacity, nor its presence; All work there with facility; and that which causeth disturbance and trouble in other bodies, produceth here a miraculous Harmony and perfect Intelligence. Th'understanding, as it hath been said, is so much Master of the body, that it obeyes it without resistance. 'Tis supple to all its desires, takes

Book II. pains as if it were strong, though it be sometimes sick and weak; and as if it were born up by th'others strength, or raised by its Agility; It holds the body to all sorts of toyl, and is not over-come by the greatness of the labour or continuance of it.

The sensitive Appetite is there very quiet; no Motion almost doth there arise, which is not voluntary either in its birth or duration. The Desire of glory is the sole passion which makes its selfe violently to be felt; and which is so imperious, if it be not suppressed, that it confounds or makes all th'others subject unto it, when it is without bridle; 'tis not content to raign over the lower part of the Soul, it will domineer in th'highest: She will command Reason; she declares that it belongs to her to violate Justice with praise; She stirs up Usurpators and Robbers of Provinces and Kingdoms; whom she causeth to be called Conquerors: she commands the Title of Great to be given *Alexander*, for having unjustly possessed himselfe of part of the world, and he had a will to have invaded th'other part of it; She causeth, that even to Christians, th'Emperours Honour themselves in their qualities, with the Name of a person that hath raised th'Empire, to which they succeed upon the Ruines of their Country. In briefe, it causeth that one is called the *Flayl* of God to colour his Invasions, and another the Corrector of Princes, and of the Nations of th'Earth. But when the desire of glory is submitted to Reason; when the Soul loves it without being transported; when she takes it not for the end of Virtue, but for the pursuit of it, and proposeth to it selfe a second Glory, which is more certain than what Fortune doth distribute, and than th'opinion which Men give; There's not a passion in the world so fair, nor more profitable: She takes away the tasks of all others that are base or effeminate: She acquires Imitators of Virtue, and by the present or near approaching Recompence which she offers her, renders her more fertile, and more efficacious.

To conclude, The Constitution whereof we speak, sends marks of its Nobility, even to th'outside, and to th'exteriour, of Man; It imprints there certain Characters, which make him to be reverenced of them, that see him. It covers his face with Majesty; it puts into his eyes a fire, which is more bright than that of ordinary eyes; and gives him, in a word, some beam of that Beauty whereof *Jesus Christ* himselfe hath not refused the praise; and which, by the means of the senses, makes a suddain impression upon the will, and gains, before Discourse be entertained, and reason perswaded.

I will not speak here of the Constitution of *Sr. the Cardinall*, nor of a Good which he hath not done to himselfe, but received it from th'Indulgence of Heaven, and from the Cares of Nature. There are truths which would not alwaies be published; And this season would hardly permit them in his favour, the knowledge whereof depends upon so profound and delicate speculation, since she is ingenuous enough to Contest with him th'Experience of senses, or to change the face of things which we have touched or seen. I suppress then my Judgement in this subject, to accommodate my self to the time, and to th'Inclination which raigneth. I will onely say in Generall, that, as there are Diseases, which are to be discovered by th'encounter of several Symptoms; and, as, for the discovery of Gold which is in th'Earth, there are many signs which ought to appear above ground, & in the Superficies; so you must conclude this high & divine Composition, whereof I speak, by a multitude of great Actions of divers Kinds, & of different Condition, which the same subject hath produced. Let reflection now be made, if there be a mind for it, upon the life of *Sr. the Cardinal*. Let past Governments be compared with his; let it be examined, what the King hath acted since he had him for his Instrument; Let the Greatnesse, the Variety, and the number of things which have been done, be considered: Let the shortnesse of the time be observed, which shuts up all these wonders, and which amazeth th'Imagination of them who have seen them, and will weaken for the future the faith of History; And after that, let every person judge of the Matter proposed, according to his sense or passion; and let him make himselfe voluntarily blind; If he be afraid to behold a Light that offends him, and a Truth that angers him. I will not forbear t'observe, that although *Sr. the Cardinal* in acting, gives somewhat t'Honour; That he is very sensible of the Glory of faire Actions, and is not exempt from a sense which all generous souls partake of; That, nevertheless, hath never changed his Duty, never did wrong to his Conscience, and to the Counsells which he hath proposed. He hath not onely considered the Justice of things, but many times proceeded to Charity, which is so seldom called to the Councills of Princes, and which makes with Conveniency, the two extreams betwixt which, Reason of State is shut up. This hath been seen particularly in the Conduct which the *King* observed towards th'*Emperour*, and the *Spaniards*, before he began the War of *Italy*, and had renewed it: but I will speak thereof in another place.

I return to the first subject of the precedent Discourse, and

Book II. and to make it appear, that *Sr. the Cardinall* in a soveraign degree hath the spirit of Discerning, whereof I have above spoken; I will fix upon some Elections which have been made since he was in the Government.

No person is ignorant of th'Eminency, and of the weight of the Charge of the *Keeper of the Seals*. 'Tis one of the noblest parts of the Body of the State: 'Tis the generall form of the Justice of the Kingdom; 'tis an universal Cause whose Influence is not Circumscribed, which penetrates within and without; which makes its power known near and far, and operates in all places where we have Communication or power. And 'tis of Importance that they who possess it, deserve it; and that they who exercise it, fill it up. And 'tis true, that for that Dignity, the Kings choice could not fix upon a person worthier then that of *Sr. of Chasteauneuf*; I speak not of the splendour of the Family from which he is come, nor of the faculty it hath had to this day, to give Illustrious persons to the state; They are Accidents which are not Proprieties, and Conditions which may fail in Families. And though the seeds of good, grow ordinarily with good blood, 'Tis not to be said that they ought alwaies to fructifie: And though the Spring be very pure, it follows not but the Stream may be poysoned, or become troubled, and taste of th'ill Qualities of the places it hath passed. These Advantages then of birth, and priviledges of fortune, are but incitements to do well by th'Examples of their Predecessors: To render the good the fairer, which they encounter, and to make the Counterpoyse in a promotion betwixt two equall Virtues. But for *Sr. of Chasteauneuf*, he hath no need of the Lights of his Ancestors to make himselfe seen. He is sufficiently observable in himself; besides the knowledge he hath gained. He hath highly that which Nature gives, which is the good sense; He hath watched in Imployments and Negotiations. He knows our affairs, and the affairs of Strangers: He is neither weak nor interessed: His virtue is without Artifice, and th'evill which represents it selfe publiquely, or that cometh more dangerously under the vizard of good, and with its Liveries, is not capable to deceive or corrupt him: wherefore he hath received nothing but what was due to his Services, or to his Merit, and therein the choice of the King hath but followed the publique desires, and the Predictions have been made even from a former Raign. And when it was in Question to relieve th'Island of *Rhe*, and to uphold *France* ready to fall into precipice, there was need of a man that despised Death, and dared to cast himselfe on a manifest danger; who had enough

enough of affection to be willing to perish for his Master, and prudence enough to manage the least Beam of safety that should appear, and the highest Apparance for good to be seen in a deplorable Occasion. But whom could *Sr. the Cardinall* propose, or the King choose, that was more capable for that purpose, then *Sr. of Chombert*? so th'Event did not deceive th'opinon had of the Virtue of so great a person, Th'End of that enterprise exceeded all that could have been desired of good success; Our friends were delivered, and the Rout of our Enemies compleated the Victory, which we sought not but in their retract. After the first passage of *Suza*, could *Montferrat* be trusted, in surer or more esteemed hands, then those of *Sr. of Thorax*? And again, as fortune had preprepared him that Occasion, and reserved him for the defence of *Casal*, and to confirm th'Honour he hath gained in *Rhe*; It seeems also, that by a certain fatality, *Sr. of Chombert* had been destined to go to relieve him the second time, and to compleat the Glory of that Siege by the safety of that place. In those last Emotions of *Italy*, did not the King appear admirable, in the choice of the men which he imployed there? And though Policy permits not many Chiefs of equall Authority in an Army, He understood nevertheless so well to discern the just proportion of their humours, and the necessary Temper to conserve Concord amongst them, that he joyned and changed them to so good purpose, that, it may be, his service was advanced by that plurality, and his Armies were the more happy. Book II.

And when the passage was to be opened for our Troops, for the Reliefe of *Casal*, and the resistance of Armies to be forced which opposed it; To whom could that design be more rationally committed, than to them who have executed it? What might not be expected from that Lord, who came into the world, lighted with the virtue of his Ancestors, and Crowned with their Glory? who laboured so much to improve that immortall Inheritance; who is not so absolute in th'Armies he commands by his Authority, as by th'Affections of the Men of War; That Love makes more men follow him in perillous occasions then Duty; who shews to others the way of doing well, and whose example would inspire the strongest passions into the most fearfull souls. *Veillane* and *Carignan* shall be for ever famous by th'effects of their Valour, and by that of th'other Marshal, who accompanied them with his Courage and Prudence; and made himselfe to be no lesse considerable in War than in Peace, nor in the Field than in the Cabinet; Above all, 'tis a thing worthy of Consideration, and a particular mark

Monsieur Mount Moraney.

Monsieur of Feat.

Book II. of the Kings judgement, and of the wisdom of his Councill, in leaving the Marshall of Force constantly in *Italy*, and in making that Army as the foundation of our Armies in that Country, and him the Director of the War.

Age which ruines th'Active Qualities of so many other persons, offended not his; old Age, which chils the blood, did not diminish his Valour. 'Tis a habit, which had not in him its Original from th'heats of the Body, but in the lights of Reason; and he was as bold when there was cause, as he was ever wise. His long and ancient experience, and the good sense wherein he naturally abounded, permitted him not to commit any fault; He knew the *Spaniards* too well to fall into their snares, and into a surprise by their Deceits, and with the Companions which the King gave him. There was nothing to be feared, and all good successe was to be hoped from his Conduct.

It must not be forgot, that *Sr. the Cardinal*, considers not onely Merit in the choice of them whom he proposeth, but would also have good Birth, if it be possible; That things may be acted with Glory, and that the reputation of affairs might improve by the Dignity of the Persons who manage them. He is very far from th'humour of a certain King, who made his Physician his principall Counsellor: And from the humour of another, who made his Chirurgion enter into the Councill of State, and permitted the same hands to handle the Seals, which had newly quitted the Razour and Launcet; wherefore the Nobility is more imployed in Negotiations then heretofore it was. They who lead Armies, or help to make War, are called to manage Treaties of Peace, and the suspensions of Arms; And 'tis true, that ordinarily th'affairs do prosper well in their hands, because they are usually bolder in Action, and have the sense, lesse sophisticated, than persons of the long Robe.

The Sixth Discourse.

That a Minister of State ought not to forme his Conduct by the Example of strangers; and that he ought to treat with them after a Different Manner.

THere's nothing so universall in the world, as Diversity, and it seems that God hath affected it, to shew his power by it, and to render Nature fair. The number of Angels, as 'tis said, surpasseth the number of other Creatures. But if the Schools would have believed *St. Thomas*, the diversity of kinds which is amongst them, had equalled the num-

number of particulars, and there had not been in those high and divine Hierarchies two Natures alike; However insomuch that they conceived that the Dignity of the living Creatures encreased by the multitude of th'Individuals, which composed them; and that *Philosophy* hath sent back the *Phœnix* to the fables of the Poets, who have sung of him as being alone, The greatest part of the Schools have departed in that sense from the judgement of that Doctor, whose opinions are so often adored by them. Let's go on: The Varieties of bodies which issue from th'Elements were incredible, if Nature had not submitted them to our sense; and if Art did not discover unto us an infinity of Words, which are made of a few Letters; and an infinity of Figures, which are drawn out of a small quantity of Colours; And an infinity of Colours, which are taken out of a small quantity of Drugs. This is not all; The diversity which Nature could not place in Essences, she hath put to the forms which accompany them; what she could not do to the principal, she hath done to the Incidents and Accessaries; and the conformity which is in the faces of men, for to distinguish them from Beasts, is changed by many Marks of dissemblance, for to distinguish them from one another. This Second Diversity proceeds from the first mixture of th'Elements, which enters into the Composition of the Bodies, from the virtue of Heaven, and of the Stars which are therein predominant, and from the quality of the Climate, and of the place which have a great share in the Composition, and in the Constitution of all things that are born. Book II.

That if the Compositions of bodies of the same kind, are so divers for the Causes above mentioned; How much greater ought the Difference to be, which is found in the manners of men, where th'Inclinations of the Body do interveyn, the motions of Reason. Examples from without, and strange suggestions; but above all, th'Inclinations of the Body prevail, and the strength of the Constitution: Reason is very seldom heard, Men live almost wholly by passion, and as if the whole Man were but a lump, the greatest part of them act, but according to that party, and chuse rather to submit unto it, to be at rest, if they can, then to have War in resisting it; and incline rather to peace by servitude than by Victory. Insomuch that a Minister of State ought to take great care not to act by Imitation; not to frame his Conduct by th'Example of strangers, not to follow remote Idæa's, and not to suffer himself to be couzened by what is practised in the Government of another State, which he may see powerfull and happy; that if the Physi-

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Book II. tians of *Italy* and *Germany*, handle in a different manner the Diseases of those Countries; If the Morall have not an exact and indivisible Medium for the virtue it teacheth. If the Church for fastings and abstinencies, be lesse Indulgent in relation to the people of the East, than of the North; And if all proceeds from the inequality of Complexions, which ariseth in part from the difference of Climates and places: Why should not the same Considerations be received in the Conducts of States; where not onely the Constitutions of men are unlike, and their manners contrary; but their foundations are different, and their policy diverse; And where the Contest brought to maintain them is the more ardent, because 'tis raised under the pretence of generall good, and is upheld by the multitude of them who are interressed, and from publique force.

Lets come t'Examples; The severity which the *Spaniards* affect, and which is conformable to their Constitution, is necessary for *Spain*; and those Melancholick and glorious Spirits, are more stirred up then the spirits of others, by the shame of punishments, and by the hope of rewards. Their Inquisition which appears so dreadfull, and which is so formidable to all other Nations; is one of the principall causes of the peace which they enjoy, and of that high tranquillity wherein they repose themselves. Errour dares not openly appear there: There's no contagion for their spirits; and if there be any remainder of *Mahometisme*, after the forcing away of so many thousands of *Moores*, it lies concealed in their hearts, or passeth not out of Caves and Darkness. They serve not onely against Infidelity, and for security of Consciences. Many Crimes purely civill, which cannot be punished according to ordinary formes, are sent thither, and sometimes innocent persons are there exposed; who are to be made Examples for th'Interest of ehe State, and to save th'honour of the Prince. The disgrace of *Antonio Peres* is a famous Evidence. That person who had no greater Crime than to be esteemed by his Master, and to have th'assurance of it, after he had been divers years variously vexed, was at last condemned to th'Inquisition; and if the people of *Saragoca* had not taken him away by force, he had made experiment of the danger of keeping a great Persons secrets, and of being th'Instrument of an Action he would not have known.

The Secretary of Don John *of* Austria, *was killed in the Inquisition by* Philip's *Order.*

But when they undertook to settle in other places that severe Inquisition, 'twas then that the spirits of the people Mutined; That Tempests have been seen t'arise; and that they have run to violent Remedies to hinder them. Heresie enter-

entered into *Flanders* under *Charles* the fifth, and Religion began to be altered there, by the Trade with *England* and *Germany*. *Grantuelle*, who commanded there, repaired to the Inquisition, to smoother an evil that seemed weak, because it was new, and began onely to shew it selfe, and to bud. But he spoiled all with that Remedy: and whether he was forced by a good zeal, as is probable; or with a desire to ceaze on the Goods of the discovered persons as he was accused; He caused so many to dye, and provoked so many other persons, that th'Emperour was constrained to suppress that pursuit. The seeds nevertheless of the Disease dyed not, though they were laid asleep,: Th'Ulcer was concealed, but not healed, and a part of the people passed since from Heresie to Revolt, which they have changed with the time into a lawfull Dominion. The *Spaniards* believed also, that the Inquisition after their manner, would secure the Conquest of *Naples*; That it should serve as a Bridle for that untamed Horse; That it would hold that changeable and unstable people under the yoak, and abate the highest heads of that Kingdom, who loved naturally disorders; but they were deceived. And so soon, as *Don Pedro of Toledo* attempted it, *Naples* rebelled, and the people took Arms as for their common Liberty: and if th'Emperour had not taken away that Design; and if the *Pope* should have consented to the proposalls of *Cardinal Caraffe*, they had hazarded the losse of that State, and what they had in *Italy*. Book II.

So soon as *Philip* the second was returned from *Flanders* into *Spain*, he sent divers Heretiques to be punished: He pardoned neither Sex or Quality; He caused the Effigies of *Constantine Pontius*, the last Confessor of his Father to be burnt: He Commanded *Bartholme*, Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, to be arrested; This Proceeding astonished all the world; And if that Prince did not spare the memory of him, who held in his Arms the dying Emperour, and received his last Breath; nor the chief Prelate of the *Spanish* Dominions, and who was heard with Admiration in the Councill of *Trent*; And if he protested daily, that he would bring Wood to burn his Children, if they were Heretiques: What grace could be expected from him by nocent persons? There's no question, but that severity hath preserved that Country from Heresie, and made impressions on the people, whose nature is circumspect, and seeks safety in all their undertakings.

And as to th'Example of the Prince, and that by his Advice, endeavours have been used t'exercise the same proceedings in *France*. The same success hath not been encountred; whether that the Remedy was unseasonable, or that our humour

Book II. mour is uncapable to submit to force: It seems that the door t'Errour was opened upon that occasion; Many to whom new things were odious, were lost by the Curiosity to know what the Doctrine was for which so many persons did run with vehemency, to death, and suffered with joy. That vain Image of Constancy amazed weak spirits, and them that knew not, That the Justice of the Cause, and not the Rigour of Torments made Martyrs, imagined that they could not cheerfully perish, but for the Cause of *Jesus Christ*. Severity then is not good, but for the speculative and fierce humours, as the *Spaniards* are, who consider alwaies the future and the consequence of things. To whom gentleness appears Cowardize; who neglect them that flatter them, and make themselves to be feared of them who make discovery of fear. It acts also powerfully upon the fearfull and Coward people; as they of th'East, where th'heat of the Air dissipates that of the Body, and dryes up excessively the spirits which are th'Instruments of Boldness and Courage; so Monarchies have taken their beginnings in those Countries, the people being easily reduced under the power of a single person; and *Ottoman* had no labour to make slaves of them whom he subdued, nor to banish liberty from his Dominions, as the greatest of all Crimes.

On the contrary, Gentleness is proper for the governing of the *Germans*, and other people of the North. They are enemies to all force; There's not a Chain which weighs not with them, though it be necessary and just. And th'Abundance of heat and blood inspires them with undaunted spirits, which makes them resist all sorts of Domination, if it be not in their hands. Wherefore they would have all persons governed by Common wealths, or at least have no Kings which should not be Elective and subordinate to their Authority. And for that reason also, 'tis very easie to make them revolt against the Church, because it was their Mother; and to make them hate the *Pope*, because he was their Superiour. Insomuch, that I do not think that the death of seven and twenty Lords, whose heads were cut off after the battail of *Prague*, and that bloody spactacle which they boasted of to *Germany*, procured so much terrour, as it raised hatred against th'house of *Austria*, and the *Spanish* Government. And I do not believe that the manner of nourishing the War which *Wallastein* introduced into that Country; The rigour of the Contributions there raised; Th'oppression of the Towns taken, or of them that obeyed; have so much assuted the Victories of th' *Emperour*, as they have disposed that people to Insurrections. And if the prosperities

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of the *King of Sweden* continue, that they may cause a strange revolution, and destroy those violent Conquests which have neither foot nor root. At the end of th'Account, I do not see that th'*Emperour* hath made other Advantage of those great Emotions which lasted so many years, than in avoiding the Ruine that threatned him; nor that he became the richer for making such an infinite sort of persons poor, nor that he did other thing, then impose a necessity to keep alwaies on foot a dreadfull Army to make them affraid, or to see his greatnesse decline, or to give over th'Ambition of rendring himselfe Master of *Germany*, and of reducing the people to a totall deficiency, from whom he could not take any away, the will to rebell. As to the zeal which he hath expressed to holy things, and as to th'exercise of that Religion which he re-established in all places; 'Tis a work whereof th'Apparance is very plausible and Christian. Yet insomuch that all-that is but without, and that souls give place to Armes, and obey not the truth; 'Tis to be feared that such a Reformation will fall in the change of th'*Emperours* fortune; and that Heresie may more dangerously overflow than it did, if it ever recover impunity, and its first License. Book II.

To further confirm what I have said, I will make use of th'evidence of the *Spaniards*, who confess that the *Duke of Alva* was too blame, t'employ gentlenesse to gain the *Portugals* who were onely to be overcome; And that it was to make them worse to flatter them in subduing of them. On the contrary, that severity lost the *Flemmings*, and that the floods of Blood which he there made to run out, the more provoked the rebellion, and gave pretence to disobedience, to shew it self, which had been till then modest, & irresolute. Gentleness then in generall, is proper for the Conduct of the *Northern* people, and severity for the *Spaniards*, and them of th'East, for the aforesaid Reasons. They that are under a temperate Climate, as the *French*, and whose Complexions are tempered by the clemency of th'Heavens, and the scituation of Country, have also need of a moderate Conduct, and of such a temper of Justice as takes impunity from vice, and renders it not alwaies to the Culpable, desperate.

Upon what hath been said, 'tis easie to judge, that it is not alwaies safe to act by Imitation; That th'Example of what is practised in a Nation, is an ill principle for the Government of an other Nation; That universal propositions are dangerous in the publique. And t'establish generall Rules to be observed of all People, and upon all occasions, is to fit the Robe

Book II. Robe of Fables to all the States of the Moon. 'Tis to give the same form to two contrary natures; 'Tis to range under an equall measure two different Quantities. And that a Minister of State may the better comprehend this truth, which is very Important; Let him know, that except some most generall propositions, which are in the practice of affairs, as th'ultimate principles of the Metaphysiques in the Sciences, There' none that is not disputed and contradicted; which hath not reasons and examples to favour it, and which are contrary to it, as I have elsewhere shewed; and therefore ought either alwaies to be followed, or alwaies to be rejected; Let's see it by Experience, and discourse in passing by of th'use of severity and gentleness, since we are upon that subject.

They who advise that a *Prince* should rather make himselfe to be feared, then loved; and that Rigour supports a Scepter much better than Easinesse of Manners, and Indulgency; may at once say, That though it may be true, that soveraigne Authority is equally preserved betwixt the feare and love of the people; That nevertheless the means which gives birth to the first of these two passions, are more certain then those that engender the second: That their operation is more infallible, and that good Deeds act not so certainly upon the spirits of men as punishments; That 'tis alwaies in the power of them who have Forces in their hands, to make themselves to be feared. But that it is not in the power of them that are good to make themselves to be beloved. That men love, voluntarily and by Election; but fear for the most part of necessity, and in spight of Reason, and against the resistance of all discourse. That for all times, The Corruption of Mankind hath been such, that it hath had more need of Justice for to subsist, then of the goodnesse of its Superiours; That, the State of innocency is very rare in the world; but that of Repentance is common, and in continnal use; & that the Governours have been alwaies more exercised to heal Diseases, than to preserve health, and the good condition of States. That in a word, The Nature of the people, is to fear much, and to love little; but nevertheless that they love not the Reigns under which they live: That they are never content with their present Condition: That they are sensible onely of the memory of things past, and hopes of the future; And that ordinarily the dead *Princes* are their delights; And though sometimes they may have Love for their Masters, and that their Inclination therein accompanies their Duty; There's no passion that changeth so easily in their understanding as this;

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And whether the Manners of Princes change and degenerate, or that they are disguised and falsifyed to th' eyes of their subjects. There's nothing so easy as to passe them from Love to Disdaine, and from Disdaine to Hatred, and to Revolt. The Life of *Henry* the third, is an illustrious example of this Truth; and th' Inconveniences wherein he fell after he had attained the Crowne, make it appeare what foundation is to be laid upon the will of the people, and upon th' inclinations of that beast which stirrs, as 'tis thrust; and which, after it had adored the Duke of *Anjou*, persecuted the King of *France*, and dared to make War with him. Book II.

On th' other side, it may be said, that no Emperour is surer, nor power better established, than that which is founded upon Love: And 'tis certain, that things are conserved by the same causes, and with the same meanes which give them birth; there's also no doubt but that the soveraigne Authority is the firmer, when it is supported by the good will of the people, from whence it took its Originall; In the second place, no violent thing is durable, Its proper force consumes it, or some other that resists it, and which is greater: And 'tis true, that every sort of Chaine, save that of Love weighes upon the spirit of man; and that every sort of yoak, if it be not voluntary, oppresseth it; To conclude, to raigne only by severity, is to renounce the peace of the spirit; 'tis to charge upon himselfe the passion given to another; 'tis t' expose himselfe to an eternall necessity of distrusting all persons, and to make them Enemies whom he would not suffer to love him, for fear of not being sufficiently feared; 'Tis to fall into the same mischiefs which traverse jealous husbands, and in over-straining his subjects to be faithfull, to give them a will to rebell, and to quit their obedience, which would not be trusted to their vertue and to their inclination.

To the first, Answer may be given, that severity alone conserves very ill the power of a Soveraigne; and that t' employ violence against th' evills of a State, 'tis to use nothing but passion and fire against all the Maladies of the body, and every sort of Ulcers. That if great persons sometimes have affected an austere and hard humour, and seem thereby to maintain themselves in Authority; That effect nevertheless proceeds from another cause: And, insomuch that that terrible conduct hath not been alone, and was found in the Company of many great vertues that have tempered it, It hath not done th' evill it was accustomed to do. This was observed in the life of *Torquates*, of *Marius*, of *Sylla*, of

Book II. *Corbulon*, and of many others of the Ancients; And of the Moderne, in the Life of the Duke of *Alva*, of the Marquess of the Holy Crosse, who left such cruell Markes of his Humours in the *Terceres*, of the County of *Fuentes* and *Wallstaine* of this time who was so absolute in th' Armies, he commanded, that the name of the Emperour was but th' Image of the Soveraigne power, He exercised; If these great persons, I say, had known onely how to command the setting up of Gallowses, and to send men to death, they had not been followed by their Souldiers, in the occasions of glory; and they had been unknown to us, but as examples of Misfortune, whereinto severity doth precipitate.

It may be also answered to the second, that Indulgency is a Means, as little safe as facile, to give power to raigne, or to compell obedience; that if the first men of the past and moderne ages, seem to have neglected severe wayes, and th' Examples of Rigour, the better to subsist in the spirits of their subjects, or of their souldiers; Tis that in effect, they had extraordinary Qualities, and I know not what of admirable in their persons, which appeared in their face and countenance, and inspired respect with love into the souls of them who came neer them, such were *Alexander*, *Scipio*, *Cæsar*, *Germanicus*; such, *Gaston* of *Foix*, *Don John* of *Austria*, *Ferrant Gonsalve*, and the two last Dukes of *Guise*, whose single presence bewitched the world, forced the wills of men in spight of Reason, and constrained their Enemies to change their passion or to suspend it at the sight of them.

From this discourse I draw two Instructions, which may be applyed to th' other matters of Policy. The first is, That for th' use of gentleness and severity, a generall Rule cannot be established, that in this as in all other actions of prudence, Resolution must be taken upon th' Occasion; Consultation had with the nature of Affairs; with the condition of the times; with the Quality of the persons; and leave the disposition of th' event to fortune, and t' other causes which are without us. The second, That although the difference brought of th' inclinations of divers people, requires for the most part a very different application of the Means, which are to be used for governing of them; so 'tis that as in the *Oeconomy* of th' humane body, and dispensation of th' humours which compose it, there's of course one that predominates, and which serves for a law to Physick, and for a direction to health; yet that hinders not, nevertheless, but that 'tis necessary sometimes to keep under that commanding Humour, and that predominant Quality; To raise o-

thers

others, alter their order, and change the course of certaine Occurrences, and according to the nature of the diseases which happen or threaten. 'Tis the very same with th'Humours of the People and Complexions of States. There's a certaine Conduct which is as naturall to them; but, It ought not to be inviolable. A Minister of State ought not to be a slave. He may quit it, provided that he doth not abandon it, and may resume it; and a Minister of State is sometimes constrained to go out of th' high way, t'avoide an ill passage or an Ambush. There are people who are to be retained with Rigour, and whose obedience is not ascertained, but under a severe Empire. But that ought not to be eternall; 'Tis good sometimes to gaine them and not alwayes to subdue them; To bend them, and not alwayes to break them; and occasions doe happen wherein 'tis of necessity to flatter them, and to stroake them for feare of affrighting them; lest they take the Bridle in their teeth, and Carry him away, that ought to Lead them. Book II.

The Seaventh Discourse.

That a Minister of State ought to treate in a different Manner with strangers, as they are powerfull and free.

A Minister of State ought not onely to conforme his conduct to th' Inclination of the people which he governes, or with whom he treats; But he ought also to adjuste it to their power and to their weaknes; He ought t' Imitate that wise Physician; who considers as much the strength of the sick person, as the virtue of the Remedy; and seeks the proportion of that which actes, with that which suffers. There are States, whose Greatnes is in themselves: which subsist upon their owne weight: which can passe-by all others: which have very little to feare from without, and can hardly fall but by their owne weightines, nor perish but by the Corruption within, and by the vices of the noble parts. Such was th' Ancient Republique of *Rome*, after that so many Nations had submitted unto it, and that there remained nothing in the world wherewith to fill up th' Ambition of one of its Citizens, nor sufficient to make him Great enough without the Ruine of his Country. Such is also at this day the Empire of th' *Ottomans*, whose body is so dilated and power so vaste, that it seems, that nothing ought to affright the Head but the Members, nor dissolve the Masse, but its owne Parts; There are others, whose Extent truly is not small, nor forces inconsiderable; But which

Book II. which have nevertheleſſe need of foraine Aides for to ſupport them; To fortifie themſelves with Alliances; To forme Leagues; To make uſe of diverſions. In ſhort, to repaire with Induſtry what of force is wanting in them, either for reſiſtance or enterprize. There are Princes who ſubſiſt onely by the Conveniences of their Country, and by the benignity of its ſcituation: Two great powers betwixt which, It is ſhut up, and to whom It ſerves for *Barriere*, are in perpetuall jealouſie, that th' one or th' other will make its Accommodation of it, & there's nothing that they would not do to hinder them from the change of Maſter, and from ſubmitting to a Domination by them ſuſpected; This paſſion of State hath been th' originall of great wars, which have been ſeene in *Piedmont* ſince a hundred yeares, and of ſo much *Spaniſh* and *French* blood as hath been ſhed in that Province. There are others, who have quit themſelves under a voluntary dependency upon a greater power, or by reaſon of ſome good turne received, or to be delivered of the Expence from diſturbance and from feare, which the Neighbourhood of a greater brings, when he is no friend, which is ſeldome but to their Advantage; ſo, he is in ſome ſort the Maſter of the petty States, which he protects; without *Citadelle* and Garriſon he Commands them; and he receives when he hath need, conſiderable ſupplyes of Money and Men.

There are others who are under a forced Dependancy, and are become Captives without thinking of it, who have given the matter of their Chaine; and furniſhed the Stuffe, whereof the yoak was made that oppreſſeth them: Covetouſneſs hath precipitated the *Genoueſes* into this unhappineſs; That villanous paſſion hath forged their ſervitude: The Money which they have put into the hands of the *Spaniards* hath betrayed them, and by an Inverted order, the Creditors put themſelves to the Mercy of their Debtors: They cannot now unſay it; they have given them pawns and cannot recover them, and which they will not ſuffer them to looſe; A ſingle free thought cannot enter their ſpirits; They dare not accept th'aid of them who would redeem them from their Captivity; and being ſlaves to their Money, they muſt of neceſſity be to the Men who keep it for them. On the other ſide, 'tis a pleaſant way of gaining a State that which the *Spaniards* have practiſed towards the *Genoueſes*; It was never doned ſo good cheape, in other places; All others have coſt them ſomething; if the Great Duke be obliged to the defence of the State of *Milan*, they have rendered unto him the fortreſſes of the *Toſcane*, and given him *Sienna*. If the Prince o

Parma,

Parma, ought to furnish them with Men and Money for the same subject; He hath received also the Citadelle of *Pleasance*. But here they onely tendred th' hands to take the Money which hath been voluntarily brought unto them; They enjoy it and are the Masters of it; In leaving t'others the vaine Name of Creditours: and if sometime they give them somewhat by may of profit; even that returnes to them and resembles the water of Certaine Fountaines, which by a constrained Motion being forced out of its reserve, returnes thither by a Naturall motion, and by a necessary fall. Let this be said in passage. Book II

To conclude, There are States which are not conserved but by reason of their weakness, and in regard they are so inconsiderable, that they deserve not the violation of Justice in a Conquerour, nor that his Ambition be rendred odious for the desire of them: such is the Common-wealth of *Ragouse*, which is so little, that to this day it hath not provoaked th' Appetite of the *Turk*; & so poor, that almost all its Revenues is laid out, to feed the great Persons of the family of *Porte*, and to serve for entertainment to the *Sangiaes*, who are their Neighbours. A Minister then of State must know, That every sort of State requires a different Conduct; That th' one ought not to serve as Example to th' other for Government; and when any business is to be had with them, that they are to be treated withall according to their Power and Liberty. Whilst the Common-wealth of *Venice* was in disorder with *Paul* the fifth, and that Christendom was divided upon that Quarrell, the Common-wealth of *Genes* fell into almost the like Inconvenience; This nevertheless did bend under the will of the *Pope*, And having cast it selfe into a shamefull servitude, was carefull to performe such Actions as might deserve the Name of a lawfull obedience; and that *Spaine*, whose Aide it wanted was but too much carried to dispose it, to raise a prejudice against *Venice*. On the contrary, *Venice* remained inflexible in its pretensions, because it had power to maintaine them, and pursued the business to th' End, that the Liberty which it had not received but from God, and wherewith it was borne, might not be weakned. The designes then of the *Pope*, which prospered for *Genes*, were vaine for *Venice*; and th' Inequality of those two states could not admit of the same Remedies, though they laboured of the same Evill, and of the like Accident.

The Eighth Discourse.

That a Minister of State ought not inviolably t' act that which hath been alwaies practised in the State.

HE not only acts safely, who formes not his conduct upon that of strangers, nor treats equally with two unequall powers: But a Minister of State is farre from what he ought to be if in the State where he acts he tye himselfe servilely, to what hath been done before him: If he dare not go out of the beaten Road: If he have no other marke then th' example of them that have gone before him; If he will alwaies walk upon their paces, and adore only their foot-steps. No comparison was ever more naturall or report more just, than that of th' humane and politique body, Th' Oeconomy of th' one may serve for Modell to th' other; They are both subject to the same Accidents and to the same Symptomes: Both of them have ordinarily the birth weak, the progress proud and rapid; the subsistence trembling, and the fal precipitated. And nevertheless, each of those ages requires a different Regiment, and a Conduct altogether diverse. These considerations also have place in th' Ecclesiastique State, and in the government of Soules. And though its foundations be eternall, and that 'tis built upon an immoveable Stone; Though this Barke cannot perish nor make Shipwrack; Though the Doctrine be infallible: that hinders not, but regard being had to the manners of particular persons, but that some alteration may often happen in it: That Compliance must be made with the time; sayls shifted according to the nature of the winds which blow; Relaxation from the severity of discipline, and much submission to th' inclination of the people; Miracles have founded the Church, and th' Holy Ghost aydes it with his protection; But it requires also that the prudence of Prelates should interpose to govern it. Reason is not banished, provided that it remaine subject to Faith; and the Truths which have been proposed to us all naked and with the sole Authority of signes, are not declared unto us by the Councills, but after great inquiries, and answerable consultations.

And nevertheless Prudence requires, that, in the Conduct of souls, what is best in it self be not so much considered, as what is most conformable to them; That a violent subjection be not imposed upon them, for fear least the yoak being made too heavy, it give a desire to shake it off. Heretofore the Churches Arms were very dreadfull, and the greatest

Princes

Princes tremble at the Noyse of th'Thunder of *Rome*; The Prudence of Pastors, who made no unlawfull use of their powers,& th' opinion had of their sanctity; caused that they who were threatned, held themselves at that instant culpable,and that they had even fear of unjust excommunications: But as there's nothing so good, which man doth not abuse; nor any thing so holy which his Malice or fragility doth not corrupt; It hath hapned that in these latter ages,have been seen great alterations of Manners in Pastors,and great abuses in th' exercise of Justice: There was no fault of *Boniface* th' eighth,and of *Jules* the second, which did not passe the bounds of the Spirit, which confines their power, and instead of opening the Kingdome of Heaven whereof Jesus Christ had left them the keys, endevoured to take away th' Interest of Lands from their true Masters, and lawfull possessors; Besides that, the too frequent use of Excommunications, and th' application thereof to matters of nothing; The Scismes of the *Popes*, which have vexed the Church, and caused many persons to take up Arms, who ought to have been governed by a single person. All this is the cause, that they are now lesse respected then they ought to be, and make not sufficient impressions of terrour upon Christian Souls. In effect, There's nothing that so much conserves the reverence due to Holy things, as the Rarity, nor that vilifies them more then to render them popular; Those things principally which are of an Order superiour to the body, and whose effects are not sensible,and respect another Life then this; have need of these precautions, that they may be wholsome. Insomuch that 'tis to misunderstand it, to draw a consequence from time past, when Ecclesiastique Discipline was in vigour & the consciences of Christians docile;when there was nothing but heate and flame among the faithfull;when obedience was generall, and that superiours had not so much use of a Spurre to provoke the love of virtue, and to the pursuit of good; as of a Bridle to retaine, and to hinder th' excess by th' impetuosity of Zeal. 'Tis ill done, I say,to draw consequences from that time to this present time, when not only Heretiques change the Truths received, but Atheists assault the Principles of Faith and the Foundations of Religion: In the dispensation of Ecclesiastical punishments, The Prelates and the Soveraigne chief of the Church, ought not to decline th' end, for which God left then the power t'impose them: Instead of building they ought not to pul down, nor destroy a whole body in cutting off a perished member and sick part; To conclude, There's nothing that Superiours, spirituall or temporal

Book II.

Book II. temporall ought more t' avoid, nor wherein they ought to be more difficult, than in putting their Authority to Reference, and to make Lawes that are not observed; 'Tis t' offend against the forme of what they are, and 'tis much better to suffer Evills, and to Tolerate abuses in a State, then to discover its wants of power in not correcting of them, or manifest its weakness in contesting too much to surmount their Resistance. Truly, since *Sr.* the *Cardinall* hath had the power of Administration, it cannot be said, That th' Example of strangers hath put us out of our way, nor that we have lost our selves in following our predecessors, and for not daring to be bolder, & wiser than they. This great Minister of State hath so well known the Nature of th' Ill we laboured of, and our Boare; and the Remedies have been dispensed with such due proportion, and equality, that the defect hindered not the operation, nor th' excess sharpned the disease; The sweetness which the King used towards the *Rochellers* when they were not in condition any longer to resist his forces; The grace which was afforded to Criminalls, when they were in his power; and the Clemency he exercised when he might have used Severity, without blame; and have made examples of Justice which could not have had any ill consequence, nor dangerous revenge: On th' other side the Comportment at *Privas*, and that sad spectacle which seemed to have been procured by some superiour providence, To supply, it may be, the too great humanity of the King, and that of his Ministers of State; The Manner of hearkning to the propositions of accommodations not to make the culpable desperate, and to press the War, and hasten victory; To take from them the means of expecting any thing from time, which is th' hope of unfortunate persons; Th' industry which *Sr.* the *Cardinall* hath added to force; Th' Art he hath used to sow division, and to convey distrust amongst the Rebels: He divided their Interests, and hath made them weak for want of Union; The assaults of his Eloquence, and of that divine faculty, which hath so charmed the Hearers, that all the passions that nourished Rebellion were quieted; Th' hottest Motions of defyance they had for us, were stayed; The most opinionated could not but consent to what we would have; and the most valiant durst not seek their safety in Arms but in Obedience, and subjection. Moreover the most scrupulous observation of promised things, and that Legall, and new proceeding wherewith fears were not only allayed, but their hopes were surmounted: That, I say, hath reconciled all their spirits; hath rendred the victory perfect and firme in gaining

the

the wills of the Conquer'd; hath cut off the last Roots of Rebellion, and finished the work which had been so often begun, and as often destroyed by ill Fortune or by ill Conduct. Book II.

If the King would have believed th' old Ministers of State, and the wise persons that had Governed in other Raignes; He had never assaulted the *Hugenots*: He had not offended a party his Father feared, nor touched that Frame which stirred not but by shakeing the Pillars of the State, and the foundations of *Monarchy*; Insolency, said they, must be suffer'd t'avoid Felony; and Lenitives applyed when sharp Remedies were mortall.

They never Concluded for warre but when it was made to them. Th' End of our Armes was not for Victory but Peaces. They did not embarque to sayl, but to return to th' Haven from whence we were put out; They could not endure tossing at Sea; and were they in a small Boat or in a ship of Burden they would make for the Land, In the mean time the fire of the Revolt was not put out; The springs of disobedience remained full, and if they were stopped for a time from Running, they swelled and became great t' overflow the stronger, into another Channell. In a word, the King had alwayes Companions in his kingdome; and at most the Subjection of Halfe the *French*, consisted in sharing his powers with Him, to leave him the name onely of a Soveraigne.

If the Maxims observed during his Minority in Relation to his Allies, had not been changed; nor more Courage expresst than when the *Spaniards* stript the *Duke* of *Savoy*; If our Reliefs had been as faint, and fearfull, as they in that time; and if we had as much feared three Powers as they did one; What had become of *Monsiur Mantove* and of our Reputation? The Liberty of th' Holy Chair had been weakned, and *Italy* in a Chain. They had suddenly been over the ditch of *France*, having there nothing abroad more to take; No person would have more trusted us; And at this day, we should not have been the Protectors of the weake: we should be the forsakers of th' afflicted. To conclude, if *Sr. the Cardinall* should have had onely in sight, the Example of our *Fathers*, and their wisdome; The designe of Navigation should have been onely in *Idea*, and we had not seene the Progresse of a thing whose Beginnings aided so much for the taking of *Rochell*; and without it, the greatest States were never but halfe Powerfull, nor but halfe Rich.

The Ninthe Discourse.

That the Counsells of Strangers ought to be suspected by a Minister of State.

A Minister of State ought to suspect the Counsells that come from abroad, what shew soever they make of good, and what pretence soever of God-will they Cloath themselves withall. Let them take it for certaine, That the greatest part of *Princes* have neither hate nor friendship but for Conveniency, and have no passion but what their Interest gives them; And therefore no Friendship is so dear to them as the least of their Affaires; That there's not a Parent whom they will not turne out of a great Good, if he be never so little Dammageable to them; whom they will not sacrifice, if it turne to their profit; and expose them to th' uttermost Mischiefe, if it be for their Accommodation. The faire passions of Resentment for good turnes, and of Acknowledgment, are th' expressions onely of Particular and of Vulgar persons; They are seldome born amongst Princes. 'Tis a Traffique, and not a Commerce of friendship, which is practised amongst them; The lawes of Merchandize enter much easier into their Treaties, than the lawes of Philosophy; Interest is the sole bond that ties them. And insomuch that reason of State learnes not to do well Generously, 'tis no wonder if they know not ordinarily either to owe handsomly, or handsomely to acknowledge. In a word, there's but little Counsell given by Strangers, whose spring is not tainted, and which is not corrupted either by th' Ambition of the most powerfull, or by the jealousie of Equalls, or by the fear of Inferiours. Great persons endeavour to catch Inferiours in their Nets, or to do their business at their Charges; They engage them in their Quarrells, and forget them in their Accommodations, or interesse them in others Men's, to keep them under in ayding of them, and retaine the securities they had seised under Colour of defending them; Equalls would be very glad to withdraw themselves from Concurrence; To gaine th' upper hand, and not to serve for Counterpoise in the forces of the others, nor obstacle to the Greatness whereunto they aspire; Inferiours are alwayes in fear of great Persons when they are ambitious, and look upon them as Monsters, from whom they expect to be devoured. They cannot have good will for them, whom they distrust; and they raise no Altars nor offer sacrifices for them, but as th' *Auncients* did to the Plague and to a

Feavour

Feavour to be preserved from an Evill which they feared. Book II.

In the begining of the Civil discords for the Matter of Religion, and when the new Sect severed them from th' obedience due to the *King* whom it had withdrawn from th' obedience due to the Church, *Philip* the second caused *Katherine* of *Medicis* to be advertized by *Manique* his ambassadour, that *It concerned her much to take great care not to flatter th' Evill, or to come to any Composition with it*; That lenitive Remedies were Mortall; and that Rebellion and Heresie were to be pursued by the sword and fire. I doubt not but the *Councill* of *Philip* had th' honour of God for their End, which was offended by that new Doctrine, and th' intereſt which was Common to him with all th' other Princes, Not to permit disobedience in the States of other Princes. But in the choice of the Meanes he proposed t' oppose that Evill and to fight it; 'Tis certaine that He considered not so much the Effect it would produce, in *France*, as the Good the low *Countryes* would receive by it, where the Contagion was already entred; He would make us swallow the Medicine for the purging of his subjects. He thought t' astonish the culpable of his Countrey, by example of the Justice, which should be acted in ours; and take away the heart of Heresie, when it should see it selfe so ill handled in other places, and be taken every where for th' hatred of *Princes*, and horrour of the people. Lets observe here, upon occasion, That the Prince whom they called the *Solomon* of his Age hindered to his power the *Flemings* from taking Religion for the pretext of th' Insurrection they studied, and th' Impatience they had to rise; He saw cleerly that they who had so often quarrelled their Princes being present, and could never Love but the race of them; would hardly containe themselves in their Absence, and permit the Domination of stranger Governnors. But he judged also that it was easie t' order the people that Mutined when th' engaged not God in their Revolt, and opposed not the Command of providing for their salvation, to that of obedience to their superiours. T' avoid that, he accords them all their demands, though they were unjust: He takes away the *Spanish* Garrison wherewith they said they were oppressed; He consents that the Governours of strange places should be Natives of the Country, and named by the States. He remits the *Cardinal Granuelle* to the *Franche* County whose person was odious unto them, and Conduct insupportable. In brief, for the love of them, He overthrows the functions of Soveraignty and chose rather to receive the Law from his *Catholique* subjects, than to be constrained to give it to the *Heretique* Rebells. But he knew

too

Book II. too late the Nature of the people and their diseases; And as 'tis sometimes good, when th' Appetite of Novelty is appeased, which vexed it, and tired with its owne disorders, To bring it back with sweetness; To give it liberty to retire from Evill with some shew of Reputation, and to seem lesse Culpable then It was; That nothing but force can reduce it, when it begins to shake and is full of fancies of the future and of hopes of Change: That to flatter them is to lose them, when they are in that Humour; and 'tis then that they make themselves to be feared, when the least Evidence of feare is discovered unto them: Th' easiness of granting the first demands doth furnish them with boldness to make new ones; The desire of evill is increased in giving them powers t' execute it; and at last, 'Tis found, that instead of a weak and irresolute Mutiny as it was, A powerfull enemy is made, and an Irreconcilable persecutor. I handle this Matter very particularly in the second part of this work; So 'tis that *Philip* fell into th' Inconveniency, which he had a designe t'avoyd, and he saw Religion perish, and his Subjects of the *Low Countries* to rebell, for not using seasonable Remedies, which might have wrought, if they had been applied in season; in employing Severity and Gentleness in counter time, and in making too much or too little use of th' one or th' other; It may be also that there was of Fate in th' Accident of that new Power, and that God suffered it to rise in opposition to the *Spanish Ambition*; and to stop, with so small a thing, that Torrent which threatned th' overflow of all his Neighbour-Countryes.

Our Kings also, under whom Heresie hath risen, have spoiled all in following violent Counsells; They have allwayes either strained too much or slacked too much: And, as if they had been carried with Contrary windes, They never knew, how to take the Medium, nor find the temper betwixt an Excessive Rigour, and a too Loose Indulgency. The shamefull Peaces, accorded in divers times to th' *Huguenots*, and *Edicts* made in their favour, declare cleerly what spirit acted in *France*; and that there was no need of fighting Battails, nor of the burning of Townes, for to put things in the State they were before the warr. On th' other side, the violent designes, and bloody Resolutions which were taken t'ill purpose, have been the fruits of *Spanish* Counsells, and of *Italian* suggestions; Th' impatience which some had to see our Miseries finished, have retarded the Cure in making too great haste; And th' hopes which others had to make profits of them, hath been the Cause that they enflamed more, and prepared a long and new Matter for our Discords, which were of Advantage to them.

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Th' Execution of *St. Bartholomew* is a work of their spirit,& they glory that their King had a particular hand in it, and that the Duke of *Alva* did advise it in his journey to *Bayone*. I will not discourse of the nature of that Action, which found even Catholique spirits divided, and their opinions different to approve or condemn it; Th'Incertitude wherein they alwaies were, in what manner King *Charles* concurred; whether by pretension, or by a pure designe, and the particular resentment of a *Prince*, which ingaged with the Zeal of publique good; are the cause that no judgement can be made thereof, but what may be dangerous or rash. I suspend mine also, to rest me upon the success which was not conforme to th'Hopes were had of it; And were it that we knew not how to make use of our advantage; or that th' Election of the Duke of *Anjou*, for King of *Polonia*, lost the fruits of the victory that was at hand; or that God would not blesse an Action wherein it was presumed, that the publique Faith, whereof he was alwaies Protector, was violated; We have seen the Fire the more kindled, which they thought had been put out by that bloud-letting; and pretence given to cruelty, to be animated against the Catholique bloud. Book II.

The Cardinall of *Lorrain* also, made a great wound in the State and Church, in being promoter of the discourse of *Poissy*. After he had been so contrary to the Protestant Ministers. The persons being of obscure birth, and their Lives charged with faults; who had been shaken by many Declarations and Edicts; who had so often shun'd the Light for to save themselves in dark places and in Woods; who had deliberated upon the Doctrine they published: To bring forth I say this people to a day so glorious as the Cardinall had made it, to draw them to so famous a Combate, and to give them the meeting in the Field, where they had him for Adversary, and the King and the Princes for Spectators; It must be confessed that he was much too blame, and that it was to pass too dangerously from one extream to another. He ought to have believed, that it was a means to cherish them in Errour that were shaking, and to confirme them that were irresolute: That that Honour would excessively swell their heart: That it would give them a greater Opinion of their persons and doctrines, than they had before and would put those proud spirits into a condition never to Renounce the propositions so solemnly debated. He might have believed, that no jealousie is so violent as that which we take, in favour of our Opinions: And for the matter of Sect, that comes into the World; Th'

Book II. Authors ought to be gained before they are publiquely declared; or else they must be destroyed.

But when they had overcome the first encounterd resistance, and that apprehension which the greatnesse of their Enterprize gave them; and that the uncertainty of the success was ceased; The disease must take its Course of Necessity; Hope and fear are weak Remedies against it, and Man labours in vain, If God doth not shew himselfe with a powerfull Arme to defend his own cause. The example of *Luther* was fresh in memory, and the causes of the miserable Schism in *Germany* known to all the World. So long as *Luther* did only Hazzard his Doctrine, and had no other designe but to cast out his spight, and revenge the wrong he believed was done to them of his Order [for not permitting them to preach, as they were accustomed, th' Indulgencies, in the *Duchy* of *Suxe*]; It had been easie to have reduced him: But after he had conferred with Cardinall *Caietan*; That he had been heard of *Charles* th' Emperour, and that *Leon* the tenth had fulminated against him; He changed the passion; Vanity succeeded choller, and th' honour to have to do with so great persons, renders him irreconsilable. In vaine after, the Messengers of *Paul* the third indeavoured to sweeten that sharp spirit: In vain, did he represent unto him th' evill would happen, in overthrowing the peace of the World for a doubtfull beliefe; And in vain did he offer him *Red Hatts*, and the first dignities of the Church for the price of his conversion; All that, moved him not; That ambitious man could no longer submit after he had contested with *Cardinals*, *Emperours*, *Popes*. And after he had been made equall to them; He could not believe himselfe great enough, if any person were above him. This digression may seem affected, but it wilbe nevertheless profitable: Lets return to our subject. 'Tis then true, that 'tis almost an inevitable necessity to receive or demand, Counsell; But 'tis an extream disgrace not to be able to resolve of ones selfe, and to distinguish betwixt anothers interest and the good of our affairs. Behold other Examples: *Peter of Medicis* whose imprudence and misfortune made him famous in Story; tooke Refuge at *Venice*, after he was driven from *Florence*. *Charles* th' Eighth, who was the subject of his disgrace, offered also to be the cause of his Restablishment, and in restoring him to his first powers, to assure himselfe of the *Florentines*, who were so necessary for his Italian designes; He advised him then of his Intentions, and tendered him his Aid for that purpose. *Peter* consults the Republique, and demands what he ought to do. The *Senate* who had jealousie of *Charles*'s stay in *Italy*; who would not have

have him take Root there; who had it then in consideration, how to send him beyond the Mountaines, and to release by Consequence *Florence*, which was the breast of his Army, and of his Interests; dissuade *Peter* from casting himselfe into th' Armes of the *King* to gaine his Returne. They represent to him the danger of imploying so great a Mediator; That it would more inflame the hatred of his Country-men against him, and that they conceive the *King* would sell the grace he should procure him, and oblige him at the Charges of the Common Liberty; So with these Reasons, whose apparance was specious, and with the promises they made him to labour his returne, The designes of *Charles*, and th' hopes of *Peter* were frustrated. Book II.

The *Venetians* who are so industrious to counsell others, and who for th' opinion of wisdome they have gained in the world, are sometimes Consulted with, even from th' uttermost Confines of *Asia*; Take no Counsell from others but for Conveniency; nor otherwise, than, as an Evidence of th' affection of them that give it; All the *Powers* of *Europe* were interessed in the disturbance of th' Interdict; The *Christians*, and the *Turkes*, the *Catholiques* and the *Protestants* did engage, and there was not a Prince which made not offers, or gave advice to the *Republique*; Nothing of that nevertheless could shake it. She stood immoveable in its proper Resentments, and never wandred from her End, whatsoever was proposed to the Contrary. I do not think it can be said, that Counsells from abroad have acted amongst us since *Sr. the Cardinall* hath been in the government, nor that forraigne Infusions have seduced us, since He governed. I do not think that it can be reproached to this Great Minister of State, That the Gold of our Neighbours hath put out his eyes, t'open his heart to their suggestions; nor that their subtlity hath Caused them to unty the Tongue to discover the Kings designes, and the secrets of the State; Heretofore they governed in our Counsells, though in the posture of third persons. They have there proposed their opinions by *French*-Interpreters, some of our Ministers of State were but bodies assumed, to which their spirits gave Motion and language; And in regard they were venall persons; no man need wonder, If they were for them that would give most, and by Consequence their's; since they never found too high a price for the Purchase of the fidelity of the subjects of other Princes.

But t' assault with these base temptations a Person who would not make use of all the Just wayes of getting wealth; who had so often refused to search into the Coffers, which his Master opened unto him; who made scruple of receiving

Benefits

Book II. Benefits from a *Prince*, which were offered him. T'avoid the gathering of the spoiles of an unhappy person, and oftentimes Hazarded all his Meanes t' assure ours. There's no reason for it.

Besides, that Interest which hath been ever powerfull in *France*; The feare that hath been long entertained of provoaking Neighbour forces, hath often spoiled our Affairs or weakned our Reputation. For feare of displeasing them, a pernicious Compleasancy was exercised in favour of them; their proposalls were harkned unto with too much respect; They durst not break their Designes with force; they were diverted by Treaties, and interventions. And insomuch that we had not Courage, to act with them as Equalls; They took the boldness to treate with us as our superiours and Masters. A strange Maxim that possessed some spirits, to permit in private all the tricks of a Mutinous faction, under pretence that we wanted power to represse it, and to suffer the *Spaniards* to do a part of what they would do abroad, t'avoyd disorder with them; and least th' hatred of that formidable Nation should be added to the spight of discontented persons, and to the disturbance of Rebells. It was upon this Principle that they suffered the *Duke of Savoy* to perish, and that the frontiers of the State of *Milan* were enlarged to the foot of the Mountaines; It was upon the same principle, that Affronts were permitted to be done to the *Venetians*; That they have suffered a person to triumph with their vessells, as a Conquerour, who had taken them, onely as a Pirate, and whom they forced t'escape into *Gradisque*, and conserved that place to th' house of *Austria*: In search whereof, they have formerly consumed a part of their treasure, and thirty thousand Men without taking of it. 'Tis by reason of this principle also, that th' *Hugonots* complayned (whether of right or wrong is not for me to judge) of the Breach of the peace of *Montpellier* to the prejudice of the *King's* Intentions. And that they who made it to suppress another *Caballe* which could not subsist but by the Continuation of the warr; had also broken it t' accommodate th' humour of *Italie* and of *Spaine*, where some murmured, that a party was suffered to Live, which, as was Imagined, might have been stiffled. And others were angry for the remission of our Evils, and for the Interruptions of our discords, which they would make perpetuall. How ever, It was, that breach, whether true or pretended hath been the beginning of the most dangerous warre, which as yet we have had in the State; and the Ministers of State, which succeeded had received (according to the Custome) the shame of the faults

faults of their Predeceſſors, if they had not the Virtue to repaire them. Book II.

But *Sr.* the *Gardinall* entred with Counſells as bold as diſintereſſed; He knew the power of our Neighbours, and the forces of his Maſter; He conceived that all his Maſter's forces were not to be imployed againſt them, ſo long as they held theirs divided in divers places; which without queſtion they will alwaies do, till they ceaſe to be Ambitious, or become Weake.

And therefore upon this Infallible Principle, the King hath beaten down all that did ariſe in his Kingdome againſt his Authority, and hindred the great perſons abroad to grow great at the Charges of the leſſer; and of th' Allies of *France*.

The Tenth Diſcourſe.

How Adviſes from Rome, *and from the Mediation of the Pope, are to be entertained.*

WHat I have ſaid in the Precedent Diſcourſe reſpects only the *Princes* manifeſtly intereſſed, and whoſe intentions are ſuſpected to their Neighbours, by reaſon of ſome irregular paſſion they labour under. A conſideration apart muſt be made of the Adviſes that come from *Rome*, and Interventions of *Popes* in th' affairs of other Princes; But inſomuch as that dignity which regards onely the ſpirit, and th'hopes of th'other Life is joyned in time to a temporall power, wherewith it is not incompatible; It hath alſo hapned, that they who have beene provided of both, have caſt themſelves on other Intereſt then thoſe of God, and mingled the Zeale of the ſalvation of Souls with the paſſions of th' Earth. And as 'tis ſeen that Man ſuffers himſelf to be raviſht with th' Objects of the ſenſes, and acts not but according to th'animal faculties, though he have ſpiritual and divine faculties. In like manner ſome *Popes* have been ſeen to forget the functions of the Chiefs of the faithfull, in addicting themſelves wholly to the functions of the Princes of the World, and place Ambition and Avarice in the Throne of Holineſſe; Moreover ſome perſons have been found who by intereſſed deſignes or with an indiſcreet heat have endeavoured to over-ſtraine the tem-

Book II. porall greatneſſe of *Popes*, and for ſome reaſons of complyance, attribute unto them more juriſdiction over *Catholique Princes*, than God hath given them; they have by that means blown up the Courage of ſome of the *Popes*; They have made them t'aſſume unreaſonable pretenſions; They have cauſed that boldneſſe in them, to trample under their feet the Crowns of Soveraigns, and to march upon their Heads, who acknowledge God onely to be above them in temporall, Juriſdictions. From thence are borne the Quarrells, they have had with divers Princes, and chiefly with th' *Emperours* of the *West*; from thence have been kindled ſo many Warrs in *Germany*, which have paſſed into *Italy*, and brought deſolation to all *Europe*; From thence, were formed thoſe famous factions of *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*, which have divided the Fathers from their Children, which put Schiſm into Families; which made Citties to be burnt, and Provinces to be plunderd; and held the World in combuſtion for a Quarrell which was not that of Jeſus Chriſt. The doubtfull pretenſions, or leſſe cleer, which ſome *Popes* would paſſe for indubitable, have occaſioned that they who were intereſſed, have maintained their Rights with the more violence, and with leſſe reſpect then they ought; and did caſt themſelves into extreamities in a Cauſe, which moderation might have made lawfull.

But moreover, When a *Pope* either by his proper Motion or by the ſuggeſtions of Juglers and Flatterers, wherewith ſometimes they are infeſted, hath aſſumed a Right he had not, though his deſigne hath not proſpered, and that he hath encountred impediments, which have ſtopped his courſe; ſome indiſcreetly zealous Authors have been found, who ſet forth his Action for a Title, t' entitle the ſubſequent *Popes* to that Right, and to re-ingage them in a Quarrell which ſhould be made as ſtrong by their own Authority, as by that, wherewith they ſecure themſelves by reaſon of the preſcription, and that it hath the favour of time. From thence it ariſeth, that they are very ſenſible of what they conceive to touch them; that there's ſo much ſeverity at *Rome*, for what concerns them; and when that matter enters into th' Affairs which are treated with them, or into the Negotiations which their Agents mannage, that great Circumſpections are there to be uſed; Th' Eye muſt be open to all things, and to tread with addreſs and lightneſs upon ſo ſlippery a Pavement.

I will place here a long conſideration, but profitable, and that ſhall enter without Violence upon the ſubject in hand. The wealth which hath been given to the Church for the glory

glory of God, and for th' Ornament of that fair Hierarchy, which compoſeth the Myſticall body of *Jeſus Chriſt*; hath had in many of their members an Effect contrary to their End. The Soveraigne Shepheards themſelves whoſe Lifes are the Lamps of the Goſpel, that it be not hid under a Buſhell; have ſometimes given ſcandalous examples in this matter; Their Manners have not ſhined, but to lead into precipices; They have betrayed the bounties of Honeſt Men, and converted the Monuments of the Piety of the *Conſtantines*, of the *Pepins*, and of the *Charlemaignes* into inſtruments of Ambition, or of ſome other paſſion, leſs Honeſt: And as all the motions of the ſoul, when they are irregular, and that imagination in ſtead of diſcourſe doth governe them; enter into a wilderneſs, and find no object to confine them, no bridle to check them; So the wealth of the Holy Chair, though it be great, hath been little to ſatisfie immoderate deſires, and the too vaſt deſignes of ſome *Popes*, and to furniſh th' exceſs of their Expences. That hath obliged ſome of their Agents, who burnt with a contrary paſſion to ſeek out extraordinary Means for Money; and to have recourſe to violence and ſacriledges, being unable by lawfull Expedients to ſatisfie the Prodigality of their Maſters, or their perſonall Avarice; They have not only ſet impoſitions, and ſubſidies upon their temporall Subjects as other Princes do; But they have alſo abuſed what was moſt holy in Religion; They put to ſale the things that were above Price; They have ſold the merits of Jeſus Chriſt; and ſold to children what came from the Indulgency of their Mother. Beſides this, the venality of Offices, which ſome *Popes* have permitted to be introduced into the Court of *Rome*, and that Spring of Rapine, which hath been ſtopped to th' uttermoſt of their power, in all well poliſhed States; The greatneſs of their kindred which ſome have procured with too much heat; The Warrs wherein they did embarke themſelves to ill purpoſe; The ſumptuous buildings and the too proud goods: In brief all that furniture, which was ſeen at *Rome*, of things which were not invented but for vanity or for pleaſure, and whereof the moſt unprofitable were the moſt precious; All this, hath raiſed an ill opinion of the dignity of th' Order in many who cannot diſtinguiſh it from the Perſon, nor make a difference of what was of Gods Inſtitution from what proceeded from the Corruption of Man. The face then of the Court of *Rome* ſo notoriouſly defamed hath cauſed ſome to confound it, with that of the Church, though they are two very different things; That they applyed the ſpots of th' one to th'other that had none at all, and have revolted

Book II.

Book II. volted against the *Holy Chair* because they could not suffer the vices of the *Pope*. Th' Authors nevertheless of this great Attempt have not sinned of ignorance, and were not carried thereunto by the zeal of th' honour of God. They knew well, that the Licence of Manners is not incompatible with the purity of opinions; That the Will may follow Evill though the Reason doth not approve of it; and that the same Authority which forbids us t' imitate the deboshes of Pastors, commands us to respect their doctrine, and to hold us in the way they teach us, distinct from the myre they are fallen into; But they were put on, by other Motives. Avarice and Spight animated them against the dignity, to be revenged of the persons that possessed it; Instead of stopping at th' abuses they exercised, they assaulted the power which God had given them. Instead of pruning the branches, they would cut down the body, and take away their Neighbours Life, to hinder him from Doing ill. And as those Creatures who draw Poyson from Flowers, and Simples, whereof men make perfumes and Medicines; Instead of admiring the care God hath for his Church, in hindring it from spoyle in the midst of corruption, and to sinke in so violent tempests; They have severed themselves from her and have indeavoured to cut the bands of the Members and the Head; and t' abolish that divine dependancy, which makes a regular body, as Dissolution makes a Monster.

God also hath raised many great persons to fight the designs of the Revolted, and to revenge th' injury done him in destroying, what was of his Institution, for the vices of Men; and in judging of the virtue of the Sacraments by the goodness of the Priests; and the force of the work, by the merit of the workman: But as 'tis hard for th' humane spirit to observe moderation in its designes, and that it be not transported in the pursuit of good, for which it hath passion. It hath also happened, that they who have runne to the Relief of th' *Holy Chair*, have truly prospered in that defence, and repelled th' imposture of them that have assaulted it; yet all have not stayed there; some have passed their bounds, and being pressed with too much heat, which the love of truth had inspired into them; have not only supported the spirituall power of the *Pope*, but have also attributed unto him a temporall which was unknown to th' Apostles; unheard of, in the Primitive Church; which gives jealousie t' other Princes; which hath not to this time edified, which hath destroyed much and made Schism to enter into those States which had been Catholique, the space of

of many ages. And insomuch that they who have been raised to this Supream dignity, which severs them from the Community of men, are nevertheless men,& sometimes have common inclinations ; There's no wonder,if some of them are glad to see their Authority extended,To see themselves made more powerfull then they thought to be;that the light which doth surround them is greater and disperseth its Ray, further then they did imagine ; and if they are easily perswaded to a thing so conformable to their desires and to the most violent appetite of reasonable Nature which is that of Domination. Insomuch, that 'tis not only true that the change of Fortune is ordinarily accompanied with the change of Manners,but also sometimes of Opinions; That it disorders all the powers of the Soul ; That it alters the disposition of th'Understanding, after it hath changed that of the Will. And some *Popes* have judged more favourably of the greatness of the *Holy Chaire*,when they were in it; they they did before, when they were but single *Cardinals*, or in some lower dignity. Wherefore in subjects, which look either directly or obliquely upon th' *Holy Chaire*, A Minister of State ought to be very circumspect : He must slide upon that Pavement,if he must passe upon it ; If he be constrained to touch upon so delicate parts, Let it be done with a subtile and light hand, and that he do not pierce too deep, if it be possible, into a matter wherein it will be hard not to be offended,if he do not offend. Above all, that he stay alwaies in the bounds of Reason, and in the bounds of Justice. That he take nothing away from another, but that he permit not, any thing to be taken away from his Master ; That his imprudence, or softness do not occasion any prejudice for the future to the State ; and that he remember the proceeding of *Charles the fifth*, when he came into *Italy* to be Crowned *Emperour*. The *Legates* who were sent to receive him, prayed him that he would swear to do no wrong to the Liberties of the *Church*, nor injure the *Spouse of Jesus Christ* ; He answered,that he would swear neither to alter the rights of the Church, nor the pretensions of th' *Empire* ; *That had an aspect to the Citties of Pleasance and of Parma, which the one pretended to be a Fiefe of th' Empire, th' other of the Holy Chaire.*

Book II

Truly, *Sr. the Cardinal* behaved himself so well in Occurrences of this nature, that the Rights of the Crown and Dignity of th' *Holy Chaire* have been inviolable, in his hands; That nothing but Justice held the Ballance, that he gave to God and *Cæsar* their due ; and maintained equally the Quality of a Minister of State, and of a Prince of the Church ;

Book II. He is not ignorant of the Temper which ought to be betwixt a blind Zeal, and Licenſe ſcarce Catholique; He knowes the way was to be held betwixt theſe two precipices; He knowes how to ſaile without ſtriking upon the Rocks; He cannot wander for want of light; He hath a moſt profound knowledge of Holy things, and of the things of the world; and the *Sorbone* admired him as their Ornament, before it did reverence him for their benefactor and protector.

Wherefore he took care not to ſee with other Mens Eyes, as others have done, or to Move with the paſſion of ſtrangers; So no ſoul alſo was ever leſſe prepoſſeſſed then his; or more direct in its apprehenſions; There's no Irregularity in the functions of his powers, and with exception to the Commerce of Faith which is alwayes priviledged, the Will gives not its opinions to th' Underſtanding, but receives its heate, and affections, from his diſcourſe and his Illuminations. Wherefore 'tis eaſie to judge how imprudent the Calumny of them was, who aſſaulted him during the Negotiation of *Cardinal Barberin*, or a little after. *Rome* did not complaine of Him, and th' *Holy Father* knew well that the neceſſities of State, and th' hidden Cauſes of its *Conduct*, do not ever permit; That to the zeal of honeſt Men, all be given that they would have. None then but ill *Frenchmen* have complained, or ſtrangers that hate us; and to whom Pretences are good, when Cauſes are wanting to them; That cry us down who are incenſed againſt us; Thoſe black Manifeſts alſo, and thoſe violent and ſharp Writings which *France* hath ſeen, have done no hurt to the Reputation of this Great Miniſter of State. They have reſembled thoſe ſtinking Vapours which are exhaled from Mooriſh Grounds, which evidence cleerly the Corruption of the place, whence they come, but infect not the Sun againſt which they ariſe. They have given themſelves the Lye, by the things that have happened. The time hath inverted them upon their Authors. They have ſeen that Delinquent of th' *Hugonots* faſtned invariably to the Ruine of all that was rebellious in that party. They have ſeen *Rochell* fall in part by the cares of that *Cardinall* of *Rochell*, They have ſeen Hereſy humbled by that Great polititian, and reduced under the Common Right and Generall Obedience, as well of Obedience as of Opinions to his Mode: they have ſeen what he dared in th' Affaires of *Monſieur* of *Mantoue*; what he undertook t'aſſume the Liberty of th' *Holy Chaire*, and to what he expoſed himſelfe for the Love of that *Rome*, which by imputation was deſpiſed by him; They have ſeen, that neither th' open force of Conjured perſons, ſtrangers; nor the great Reſiſtance of ill diſpoſed

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Frenchmen; Barrenes nor the Plague ;could hinder the *King* from being the Liberator of *Italy*, as He hath been the Restorer of *France*. Book II.

But how hath the Prudence of that Great Minister of State shined in the Dispute of th' Authority of the *Pope*, which had been awakened some years since amongst us? How dexterous hath he been in the Manadgement of a Matter so dangerous? How very happy in laying dead that Quarrell which shall ever be fatall to *Religion*, and which cannot be deterred but by opening the dore to Schisme? He alone found th' Expedients to pacifie the *Sorbone*, which was in Tumult on that Subject. To re-joynt the body which was torne in parts; To reduce opinions, too much flattered; To content the *Pope*, and to preserve our Liberties and the Rights of the Crowne. This action was so necessary, that without it our Affaires had never taken a Course so advantageous as they did, and so difficult, that I dare affirme, It could not have been done but by a principall Minister of State, by a Prince of the *Church*, by a great *Theologian*, and excellent *Polititian* altogether.

The Eleventh Discourse.

Considerations upon the precedent Discourse.

WHat I have said in the Precedent Discourse is not to Condemn the wealth of the *Church*, but to blame them that abuse it; Nor, to conclude, that she is not ever the same though she was born poor, and that she is now rich; That Charity is diminished: That the Manners of the greatest part of particular persons is Degenerated; and that their Lifes are contrary to theirs, who were the first of the *Faithfull*. 'Tis ever the same face, though the good Graces are not the same, and the Colour is gone; The figures remaines; The features and proportions leave it not, and 'tis still the same Soul which gives it Life; Tis alwayes the same River though its water is sometimes troubled and sometimes cleere, that it flowes at one time and ebbs at another. The Channell is permanent, The spring is fixed, and its Course tends alwayes to the Sea which is its first Originall. There are in Religion, things, of an eternall Substance; and there are, that may suffer Change and Alteration. And as the beginnings of Nature are alwayes weak, and perfection comes by degrees into her works; so that which issues purely from th' hand of God is usually perfect, and if it stay not in that state; Tis the fragility of Man that alters it, and the necessity of the Condition that makes the Change.

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Book II. Since God determined that great Designe of the purchase of men, and that he would be th' End and Meanes of their happiness; It was Convenient, that the *Church* which he should establish, should be born poore. And, that the world might know it to be his work; It was necessary that she should be raised by Meanes, contrary to th' ordinary; That she should triumph over Riches, in her poverty; over Greatness, in Disdaine; and over the Wisedome of th' Age, in the Ignorance of humane things: Otherwise truly, if it had come in Abundance; If its Entry into the world, had been invironed with Glory; and the doctrine which she brought, perswaded by the ornaments of *Rhetorique* and subtiltyes of *Philosophy*; It had been under jealouzie with us: No person would have been astonished at the progresse It hath made in so Little a time: and that it being come out of a Corner of *Palestine*; It had passed in an instant to th' uttermost Bounds of th' Earth, and penetrated even to a world severd from ours; No person would have thought it strange, that Covetous Men should run after wealth; That Ambition had followed *Pompe*, and that Eloquence plaid with the Credulity of simple persons. That famous Impostor, who hath found so many followers and whose Errors entertaine, as yet to this day, two thirds of our world; had been alone, if he had been poor; and had never deceived the people if he had not subdued them. It was then necessary, That Religion truly divine, had the markes of the Principle from which She proceeds. That she comes Contrary to the Rules of Prudence and establishes her self by that which ought to destroy her. But as she hath the Love of God for her End, and Charity for her Neighbour, and that chiefly it ought to distinguish the disciples of *Iesus Christ* from the rest of Men; 'Tis from thence happened, that the first *Christians* carried their Lands, and Goods, to the foot of th' Apostles, and stripped themselves of the propriety which did belong to them; to make it Common to their brothers. A permanent stock nevertheless of those offerings was not made. They did onely passe, and were shared in Measure as they were received, and as in proportion the Faithfull had occasion. The flames of Charity since growing by the Number of Converts, and the Goods which were daily offered to the Church being extreamly increased by that Multiplication; It was judged expedient to preserve the stock, and that the distribution of the Revenue might serve to maintaine the Pastors, and to relieve the poor. This order was introduced even in the time of th' Apostles, as we may conjecture, or a little after. In conclusion, the stock which made a great

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ſumme was divided into proportions,& the portions aſſigned to them who ſerved the *Church*, and conſtantly applyed to other uſes, and without being any more mingled or Confounded. This order hath laſted to our time; And how holy or unlawfull th' uſe of the goods of the Church hath been in th' hands of particular Men; 'Tis at leaſt not to be doubted but that the Charity of the Givers hath been precious before God, and their zeal extremely meritorious. But moreover I ſay, that after the Golden Age of *Chriſtendome*, and that very happy time wherein they onely knew *Jeſus Chriſt* crucified; and when from the Poverty and Abjection of the faithfull, Miracles were ſeen t'ariſe: It hath not been Inconvenient That the Church ſhould be rich. And ſince for the future the ſupernaturall meanes which have founded it, ought to be in great Eſteem with Men, God hath alſo Conſented that the Church ſhould draw wealth from abroad; Advantages which ſhould render it the more Venerable; and hold the people who regard not much more then th' Exteriour, and are not moved but by th' objects of ſenſe, into reſpect that is due unto it. Book II.

But with Riches, they ſay, a thouſand Evills paſſed into the Church; Vanity and delicacies put themſelves into the Throne of virtue: The Charity of our Fathers is become the food of the profuſion of our Nephews, and the poor dye for hunger; whilſt they that ought t'ingage their Lives for them, leave them not their Subſtance. To this I anſwer, that although they are vitious Eccleſiaſtiques, becauſe they are rich, and that in many the Licenſe of Manners growes from th' Abundance of Goods; It followes not therefore, that the Church ought to be robbed: That this is common to them with all good things, to be expoſed t'ill uſage in th' hands of wicked perſons. That the Sacraments are not to be aboliſhed, becauſe there are Men that commit ſacriledge; That God doth not deface the beauty of Nature, becauſe it ſerves for an occaſion of ſin to the weake; and no perſon is bound to pul out his Eyes when they are unchaſte, and are raviſhed by forbidden Objects and diſhoneſt Curioſities. There are Church-men ſpoiled, which would have been honeſt Men if they had not been rich; And there are whoſe Life is full of Edifying & of exemplary Charity, whoſe virtue would be concealed in poverty and unprofitable Holineſs. Poverty and Riches are of themſelves a Matter without Form; They are ſuſceptible of Contrary impreſſions; They may receive the Figure of Good and Ill, and neither of theſe things hath any Merit, if Charity doth not raiſe it. But the number is ſaid greater of th' Abuſes of Riches in the Church,

Book II. than of them that make good use of them, and the intentions of them that have given them is oftner perverted than executed. To that I also answer, that, It being supposed for truth, it follows not that the *Church* should be made poor; That God suffers th' iniquity of sinners, and the vices of the World, for some virtuous Actions, that are therein exercised; That he makes his Sun to shine upon a multitude of wicked, for a small number of Honest men that serve him; that he had forgiven six thousand culpable Persons, if he had found Ten innocent persons in *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*; And in the deluge which swallowed the World, if there had been in it ten just Families, He had not, it may be, made that great Example of Justice; So, both th' order of things, and conduct of providence perswade us that Riches ought not to be banished from the *Church* for th' abuses at whose birth they serve for an occasion; since they are the cause of a number of good Actions which are thereby done; That they serve the best of virtues which is Charity; and 'tis certain that returning to the hands of secular persons, they would be more dangerously imployed, and would cause more ill, and less good, than in the hands of Ecclesiastiques.

What concerns the purifying of th' Ecclesiastique Order, and to restore it to its first beauty, and its originall innocency, 'tis a thing easier to be desired than done, and which is not neither the worke of a little time, nor of the common force of men. It were to leap from one Extream to another. To pass suddenly to such a severe Reformation; It were to put new Wine into Old Vessels, and to sew New Cloath to a torne Garment, (following the parable of our Lord): And in driving away of Devills, the custome whereof had taken away what was most offensive which is the scandall; To introduce greater, by filling their spirits with sharpness, and the World with Tumults. Th' Alteration is so generall, th' Interests of temporall Princes are so confounded with the interests of the *Church*, and the greatest part of men so fastned to their present condition; That it would cost God lesse to raise the Dead, than reduce things to the state of their birth, and bring back all Christians to to the Aunc ent Discipline. It sufficeth, That in what state soever the *Church* is found, every person may find salvation there, If he will; and that out of it, none can avoid Damnation; 'Tis nevertheless true, that as 'tis to purpose, that the Miracles where upon the *Church* hath been founded, be sometimes renewed; and that the beliefe of things past be confirmed by some present Signe; so though the Ecclesiasti-

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call Order hath received some staines, and lost its purity in some of its Members; God alwaies raiseth some good souls which without forsaking of the Church, sever from the corruption of particular Men, and expresse in their lifes the Image of that great Virtue, which appeared, at the birth of Christianity; and which was common to the first faithfull persons. Book II.

Considerations upon the Behaviours of Popes and their Agents which may serve for forewarnings to the Ministers of State of other Princes, who shall have occasion to treat with them.

THough the following Discourse might have been handled more commodiously in the second part of this Worke, where I shew at large how a Minister of State ought t' act with Strangers; Nevertheless, to keep such matters together which are best understood, when they are joyned, and not to weaken the light they draw one from another; I will place here at one time, what I had to say upon the subject of *Popes*, and upon the precautions wherewith their advises ought to be received, and they and their Ministers of State treated withall.

I say then, that although the *Popes* of the first ages, had only very pure thoughts and affections of fathers towards Princes who were their Children; Nevertheless since they have assumed another Quality than that whereby they represent *Jesus Christ*; That they have mingled th' Interests of the *Church* with them of the World. And that the Crown they carry hath as many Diamonds as Thorns; Some of them have been found to have a Zeal very unlike to that of the first *Popes*, who have followed other motions, then th' effects of that Vertue which makes no Acceptation of persons; Who have burnt in the passions of the World; From Shepheards (as they ought to have been) were changed into Wolves, and have sometimes made Abomination t' arise even into the Sanctuary; And not to go out of the two last Ages. *Alexander* the sixth; did he ever discover any other passion to the world then that of, making great his Children? was there any meanes refused to gaine that end? did he not for the love of it abuse, prophane and divine things? Did he not break all the Lawes of Christianity? all of nature, and all the rights of humane society to make his second Son to Raign? Briefly, Treasons, secret Murders, Poysonings and perjuries were his Manners and Habits; If Historians may be believed. Let's pass to *Jules* the second, successor t' *Alex=*

Book II. t' *Alexander*. His Life indeed was not so black nor his conduct so Criminall as th' other's was; He was nevertheless possessed with so furious an appetite of making Warre; and with so violent a desire of extending th' Ecclesiasticall revenue, That he suffered not *Italy* nor other Princes to rest; and he could never find that peace, which God gives and the world gives not, because he sought it in the midst of Armes, by Ambition, and in Tumults. Th' heat wherewith he persecuted *Lewis* the twelfth, and the pretext he furnisht *Ferdinand of Castile* withall to usurpe *Navarre*, will deliver his name for ever with an ill Character to the French, and his Memory odious.

Leon the tenth had excesse of passion for his Relations, whereof many *Popes* have been sick. The prodigalities used in their behalfe; The goods of the *Church* he not only gave them, but ponred them out upon them with full hands, and exhausted them without measure: And the Present he made his Sister of the profits of th' Indulgences, which should be preached in the *Duchy* of *Saxe*; were the petext of *Luther's* Apostacy, and the cause of the Schism in *Germany*, and of the Fire that hath burnt the North. What did not *Clement* the seaventh for the greatnesse of his House, and to secure the State of *Florence* In the Family of the *Medicis*? How often did he quit for that designe that indifferent and free spirit which *Popes* ought to have? And how compleasant did he make himselfe to th' Ambition of *Charles* th' fifth, t'enter his Nephew into his Alliance; and to make him Duke of *Toscany*? what did he not in love to the Marriage of his Neece, *Catherine* of *Medicis*, with the Duke of *Orleans*? Insomuch that if his Life was unfortunate, and agitated with great Tempests; It may at least be said, that his last dayes were serene and faire; that he gained the Haven in Triumph, and that he dyed full of the prosperities of his House he so much desired; The same defect also hath been observed in the Life of *Paul* the third, and his Vertue, which otherwise was very pure, had that stain That he procured with too great violence the greatnesse of th' House of *Farnese* whence he issued, and did too much apply himself to th' humour of *Charles* th' Emperour to put his Nephews in possession of the states of *Pleasance* and *Parma*, and to surmount the resistance th' Emperour made for the pretentions of th' Empire.

But when th' Intentions of the *Popes* which should be ever good, and their Wills in an inviolable Justnes: when their Zeal shall have no other heat then what Duty inspires, and the Love of justice communicates; Their understandings

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may be prepossessed. They may do it with a good faith; They may wander thinking to be in the Right way, and satisfie the passions of their Kindred believing to satisfie their Charge; The state Ecclesiastique is now governed in such sort, that the *Popes* ease themselves of the greatest part of their Affaires upon their Nephews. The *Cardinals* who out of Councill seem to be the Naturall Members of that head, and should help to sustaine the weight of the Monarchy; signifie now almost no more then t' improve the Majesty of the *Holy Chair*. The knowledge of Affairs is almost denyed them, and if they are sometimes proposed to the *Conclave*, 'tis rather to give Authority by their Approbation of what is done, than to resolve it by their suffrages. Book II.

This proceeding, which on the suddain may seem strange, is not without ground or appearance of Reason; Amongst the *Cardinals* some are naturall Subjects of *Princes*, to whom besides the Duty of birth, they owe also their fortune and also their promotion; and the Glory of the Purple they weare, is a Beauty which belongs not to them but by reflexion; and was borrowed by their Masters from th' *Holy Chair* to be Communicated unto them. And by consequence 'tis no wonder, If they are bound onely to their Interests; If they follow onely their Inclinations, and labour onely for their Glory, and the good of their Affairs; Or they are Children of some petty Soveraigne, and therefore full of th' humours of their House; of desire to make it Great; and in the same dependancy with it; To conclude, the greatest part of them, who from a Mean or low birth attaine that high Dignity; depend upon great temporall Powers, either by benefits received, or by guift of pensions, or by hopes wherewith they hold them fast. There's the state of *Venice* onely, which never gave themselves up to that practice, and which hath ever neglected to make themselves great in the Conclave. 'Tis at no charges to gaine *Cardinalls*, and contents it selfe to Command them of their States which are never above Two at a time, and passe Ordinarily into separated Interests from theirs though not Contrary. These passions then and those dependancies change the wills of *Popes* in regard of the *Cardinals*; Make all their offices suspected to him, and cause the Resolution of Affairs, to be reduced to him and his Relations, or to some of his Creatures, whose faithfullness he hath tryed, and whose Abilities are esteemed by him.

But that great Authority which *Popes* deliver up to their Nephewes, and the power of th' *Holy Chair*, The disposition whereof they very often leave entire and free unto them, are not ever governed by pure hands; 'Tis hard, though not im-

Book II. possible, that the zeal of the generall good should entirely possesse them who are not publique persons but by participation, 'Tis hard to forget ones proper Condition, and to have no Motions but of what a Man is not: 'Tis hard to betray selfe Love, and to seperate wholly from ones selfe, and 'tis to no purpose to shut up th' high-wayes t' interessed Designes and to particular Ends. They will light at our Houses if we are not infinitely virtuous, by some stolen Path, or by a secret Addresse; Th' Intentions of the *Pope* may be holy, but th' Intentions of the Nephews may be unholy. And if that be so, what expedient is there to stay the Contagion with them, and that it infect not the *Pope*? What defence against an Evill, that admits not of Preservatives? To answer for what one sees, if no sight be had but by the sight of others? To see a thing as it is; if th' outside be disguised? If th' Appearances have been Changed, and if the sellers of paint and plaister, who are many in great Courts, have prepared it before it be shewed? But to gaine sometimes the Nephews and corrupt th' Agents employed by them, in the Quarrells of Princes; the way is open to them who can do good and promise Recompences. For so soon as the *Pope* is mounted into the throne which drawes him so neer to God, and placeth him so much above other Men; It seems to the greatest part of his Relations, that they cannot with modesty stay in the crowd nor in th' obscurity of particular persons, so long as th' Uncle or the Brother is encompassed with the greatest Lights of the world; And therefore some of them are tenacious of all that may establish the greatness of their house, and raise them to the State of their Ambition. The *Spaniards*, understand better then all the Nations of the world these practices, and have larger Meanes t' exercise them then any other Nation. The Pensions which they distribute without Measure; The Livings they have to conferre in their States of *Italy*, and to th' Advantage of them that act at the Court of *Rome*; The Meanes t' advance their Relations to th' Offices of Peace and Warre. Th' Estates which they sometimes give them, or make the purchase thereof easie unto them, and Advantageous, and Rich Marriages which they procure for them; are strange Engines to Shake the Probity of *Italians*, if it be not very well Confirmed. The marriage of the Heire of th' house of *Jesualde* of the most famous of the kingdome of *Naples*, against th' expresse Clauses of her father's Will, which *Gregory the fifteenth* dispensed in favour of one of his *Nephewes*; gave th' entry to the *Spaniards* into the *Valtoline*, rendred them Masters of that Valley under the name of another power, gave that great wound

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t' *Italy*, and th' Armes of *Holy Peter* aided there t' advance th' Ambition of *Spaine*, and to weaken the Liberty of a Province where they are adored. And Moreover when hopes are weak to draw a person to their party, They then add feare; Tis not possible, but that th' one or th' other of those Passions may have its Effect, and they that resist their guifts and promises in relation to their Interests, are carefull at least not to justle them, the better t' avoyd the Tempests which they raise, and the Persecutions they stir up. Besides the Resistance they give them who aspire the *Pontificate* when they are of a Contrary Inclination, They have yet other Expedients to make themselves to be feared. I will not believe that they were the Principall Cause of th' unfortunate Ends of the *Caraffes*. The deportments wherewith they abused th' Authority of their Uncle. The Evills wherein they plunged *Christendome* by their ungoverned Ambition: The fire which they kindled in the State Ecclesiastique, and which endangered the destruction of it. Book II.

All three were hanged.

In short, all that a great power armed with Impunity could produce of fatall, gave but too much foundation for Justice, to make so great an Ensample. But 'tis true also, that the Contrivances of *Spaine*, and th' Ardent pursuits which their Agents made against them, did not abate the spirit of the Judges, nor the Rigour of the sentence; But without that, the persecution wherewith they agitated the *Cardinal Aldobrandin* after the Death of *Clement* th' Eighth, and the little safety he had also for his person, till he had suppled them by Imploring their Aide; Make out cleere Evidences how dangerous a thing it is to have been their Enemy, or not to have been for them which is allmost the same thing.

Presently after the coming of *Paul* the fifth, to the Pontificate, That *Cardinal* found himselfe thrust at from so many places, and saw so many snares laid about him, and so many plots formed for his destruction; that he was constrained to leave *Rome*, and to retire to *Ravenna* whereof he was *Arch Bishop*, nor did he find there the safety he sought for; and th' unexpected stormes which there did arise compelled him to leave that place where he was bound to reside, and to provide for his safety by his flight. He retired then into *Piedmont* whereby the *Duke* of *Savoy* who knew th' originall of his Evill, and the Remedy that might heale it; who knew from what Corner the windes of the persecution blew and the Meanes to appease them; Advised him to Cast himselfe into th' Armes of the *King* of *Spaine*, and to employ his Mediation to reconcile him to the *Pope*. No person is ignorant of the warre they made to the *Cardinal Baronius*, and with what

Book II. what obstinacy they assaulted him for cleering the Rights of th' *Holy Chair* to *Sicily*, and for publishing a truth they would have had concealed. In that Treaty, where that learned *Cardinal* endevours to prove that the Body of *St: Inques* is not at *Compostelle* of *Galice*; They have truly answered with Reasons and Proofs which much weaken the contrary opinion, and make theirs very probable who support it by the beliefe of Christian Nations, and ought to be known for publique satisfaction. But in the Treaty of *Sicily* they have re-parted with Fire, because, it may be, that reasons failed them, and commanded the fourth Volume of th' *Annales* of that great Person to be burnt by the hand of a Hangman, to declare the doctrine it contained, criminall, because it was not favourable to them. Truly, this evidence is to be rendred, and praise to be given to the *Spaniards*; That there's not a Nation in the World which hath so violent jealousie, as they, for the Interests of their State, and for the dignity of their Crown. And it must also be said, to the shame of ours, that there are none so strongly labouring under a contrary passion, as the greatest part of *Frenchmen*. I will report the causes of both, in the second part.

Besides this, what did not the *Spaniards* in the Conclaves, where the suffrages enclined to *Baronius* side to choose him *Pope*? What Artifices did they leave unattempted t'oppose that promotion? What Efforts did they not employ to breake it, and what Engines did they not set a going t'overthrow it. The *Cardinal* of *Sourdis* stormed, and made a noise to no purpose at their practises; The greatest part of Honest men were scandalized, and desirous, to no better effect, that the Church might be governed by a Person that had so much merited from her. The wishes of honest persons were unprofitable. They sighed in vaine for so Holy an Election: *Baronius* his Enemies carried it, and the generall Interests of *Christendom* gave place to the particular Interest of *Spaine*. These Examples, and many others astonish them who upon other accounts have no Inclination for that Nation, and the fear which every person hath to procure himselfe Evill is the cause that many are diverted from doing the good they would, if liberty were not interdicted, and generosity assaulted by odious means and by those violent wayes. I will handle in the second part, Whether Christian Princes ought in Conscience to meddle with the promotion of *Popes*, and how.

THE

The Thirteenth Discourse.

That the Mediation of Popes is very profitable in the differences of Christian Princes, and in th' Affaires of Christendome.

I Do not intend t' infer from the precedent discourse, that Princes ought to be deprived of the Mediation of *Popes* nor to reject their offices when *Christendome* is agitated, and that It's Princes are in discord. I should be an ill *Logician* to draw no better consequences, and it were t'act against all the principles of Reason, and all the Maxims of Morality; To forbid th' use of good things for their cause that abuse them, To hinder good Superiours to do their Duty, because the bad neglect it, and not enjoy the Beauty of the Sun, nor the benefits of its Light because of the Eclipses which sometimes interpose, and steale it away from the World. 'Tis true, that there have been wicked *Popes*, and who have been the shame of th' *Holy Chaire*, and the scandall of Religion. There have been of them who did not engage in th' Affairs of Princes, but to trouble them; who brought only poyson and fire against the diseases, and who infected with their venome and breath, all that they touched: But all are not of that Nature, all are not guided by that Spirit. There have been some very honest Men, full of the spirit of God, who burn only with Holy Zeal, and having been raised to that supreame Dignity, have renounced all affections of Blood, for t' assume only th' affections of common Fathers of *Christians*, and, of incorruptible Arbiters of th' affairs committed to them. And as they have the heart very sound, and the will free from all irregular passion, some of them also have the sight cleere, and th' understanding much enlightned, having a great intelligence of the things of the World, and that the goodnesse of their understanding and th' Imployment they have had from other *Popes*, have put them into a condition, neither to be deceived by the artifices of their Relations, nor bewitched with strange illusions. The corruption also of their kindred, and of their Ministers of State, is not so Universall, but that many are exempt, and who mingle nothing of particular with the Zeal of publique Rest, nor any thing of Strangers with th' instructions of their Masters.

And without considering, that th' *Holy Chaire* is the foundation wherein Religion is supported, and that there's no salvation for the members who abandon that Head; This

Book II. Good ariseth to the Princes his Children. That his Authority is much respected by them when it interposeth in their Affaires, and that his offices are very powerfull or very proper to determine their Quarrells, when the fire is kindled betwixt the two great Crowns, and that *France* and *Spaine* make warr. What power is either high enough or impartiall enough t'interveine to put it out? who can have force enough, to retaine those two great Engines when they move, and to stop such Impetuous and rash Motions, but th' *Holy Chair*. Besides that the Empire hath long stood without its first Glory, and without any markes of its ancient Majesty, but the Name, Armes; Who knows not that it depends on *Spaine*, or is in Communion of Interests with it? who knowes not that it hath withdrawn th' Empire from the precipice wherein it was falling; That it subsists not but by its subventions and Reliefes; and that *Charles* the *fifth* left not a stronger Recommendation to his son, than to be alwayes in amity with his Cousins, though their friendship cost him very deer, or to preserve it at an excessive price and with Immoderate Conditions.

For what concernes the Crowne of *England*, which was heretofore the Counterpoise of th' other two, and Arbiter of their differences; It is no more so proper, as it hath been t'Act in their discords. Change of Religion hath spoiled it, it cannot entertaine any good Intentions for the *Catholiques*. Having that venome on the heart, it cannot behold their prosperities with Eyes entirely pure. Their good Intelligence ought to be suspected, and if it advanceth sometimes towards *Spaine* and sometimes towards *France*, It lasteth so little, and is done with such languishing Motions and so suddaine a Returne; That 'tis very visible, that 'tis not a perfect Amity; it considers but a fancy of Goodwill which presently disappeares and an abortive of Affection which is produced by some light Cause; As to the Republique of *Venice*, It hath truly Wisdome, and Greatness enough, to labour in the Quarrells of the two Crownes; But 'tis so very Jealous of the power of th' one, and so great an Enemy to their Ambition, that their Endeavours would not be lesse suspected then th' offices of a Declared Enemy. As for th' other Princes of *Italy*, and *Germany*, they are so little or so dependant or so enstrainged from th' Inclination of *Spain*; That for their sakes they would not forsake their Animosity, nor submit to their good offices.

The *Pope* then remaines the sole Mediator of their Discords. The Quality of Children of the Church, which Catholique Princes do Glory in; obligeth them to honour Him who represents

presents the Chiefe, and whatsoever jealousie of Honour they labour under, they do no wrong to their Courage or Ambition, to submit to him who is above them and Conjures them in the Name of *Jesus Christ*, by whom they reigne, not to despise the peace he hath so much recommended. Those Princes also, who are sometimes a weary of quarrelling, and to whom th' Evills of warr are dreadfull, and the Misery of their subjects gives them cause of Pitty, are very willing to be invited to Rest, by so powerfull Authority; It cannot be denyed, but that the peace of *Vervins* so necessary for *Spain* and profitable for *France*, was the work of *Clement* th' Eighth, and that *Henry* the *Great* and *Philip* the *second* had been much troubled to lay downe Armes which weighed so heavily on both partyes, without so great an Interposer. I have said, that when Princes are tired with Quarrells and emptied of Monies and Men, or that they have in other places more important Employments which they cannot attend but in quiting the first; otherwise truely when Ambition is supported by force, and when th' appetite to Conquer is provoked by th' hope of victory; Tis hard to extinguish it with Treaties, or to appease it by offices; To the greatest part of Princes that make warr, the same happens, as t' opinionated Lawyers, who cease not to plead by Election but by Insufficiency, who owe their Rest to the poverty, and not to the moderation of their spirit; and who stop not in going, but stand on the way for want of Force to go further. Besides th' Experience which we have made of these last motions of *Italy*, we have memorable examples in the Lifes of *Charles the fifth*, and *Francis the first*. The state of *Milan* was the Love of those two Princes, and the most violent objects of their Ambition. They both burned with an Equall heat of possessing it, and th' animosity which they Conceived upon that subject one against another, was so great that neither time nor men could ever overcome it, *Paul the third* spared not his person and exposed himselfe to long journeies, to labour so necessary a Reconsiliation. Th' inundations of the *Turke* from all parts upon Christians sufficiently sollicited th' Emperour. And nevertheless nothing of that could bend them: They resisted the prayers of the *Pope*: The miserable Condition of *Christendome* touched them not; and that fatall obstinacy cost him besides the blood of his Children, The losse of *Rhodes* and the diminution of the fairest portion of *Hungary*.

Popes have not onely lent their endeavours to *Christendome* to determine the Quarrells of those Princes; But have also often aided in securing it from the Ruine that threatned it,

or

Book II. or to revenge its affronts or recover its Losses, had it not been for their Mediations and Offices : the Protestants had finished the defacing of it, or the *Turks* had subdued it, and God, who hath chosen them to be the visible Cheifs of the *Church*, hath also ordained that they should be sometimes the Liberators of the Country, where the *Church* is preserved; and th'Instruments of temporall conservation to the people that do acknowledge her. The most famous League the world ever saw was formed in the Councill of *Clermont* at th' Instance of *Peter th' Hermite* and by th' Authority of *Urban* the second ; Four hundred thousand fighting men put themselves under the command of *Godfrey* of *Buillon* for the conquest of th'*Holy Land*. Christianity never overflowed so largely as at that time ; It never obtained such Eminent successe ; and never so great a Number of adventurers, and voluntary Souldiers were so long together for the same designe, and with so much courage.

But not to go from th' Age past, and from the things happned in rhe times of our fathers ; Who knows not that *Paul the third* was Author of the League was made betweene the *Venetians* and *Charles* the *Fifth* to beat back *Soliman* who threatned *Italy*, and to chastise *Barbarosse*, who robbed the Coasts. That if the *Christians* suffered the victory t' escape which they had in their hands, if they would have taken it ; If the Maritime power of the *Turke* was not abated at that stroake ; If *Barbarosse* was not destroyed at *Prevese*, as he might have been ; The cause must be attributed t' *Andre Doria*, as I have said in another place. It seemed, that these two *Pirates* had shared th' Empire of the Sea, and th' one desired not the ruine of th' other for feare of being lesse considerable to his Master, when he had defeated his Enemies, and to lose credit with the losse of exercise : *Barbarosse* also repayed the Courtesie and gave the revenge to *Doria* neere *Villa Franca* where he would not destroy him, as it was easie for him after a Wrack, nor pursue his Ships which the Tempests had scattered. It may be also there was some hidden Cause, and some concealed Motive from th' *Emperour*, for which reason he sought not Victory in the League we speak of, but the retrayte of his enemies, and cessation of the War. I will treat of this matter in the second part, in the treaty of Leagues.

Pius the fourth, layed the foundation of the League for the relieſe of *Cyprus*, which was concluded under *Pius the fourth*, That if it was not fortunate enough ; If th' hopes conceived faild of their principall End, and if *Cyprus* was lost for want of relieſe ; The delayes the *Spaniards* bring t'all their undertake-

undertakings; The tempests that were frequent that year upon the Sea; The Plague which emptied the vessels of the *Venetians*; and a secret disposition of th' Heavens, that afflicted the Republique, were the causes of that Disgrace; The League nevertheless was profitable, and past-ages nor all the powers of th' ancients did produce upon the Levant Sea any thing so memorable as the Battail of *Cursolary*; That, if the Christians had not betrayed themselves; If they would have made use of the victory, and have followed the fortune *Constantinople* and the *Levant* offered them; we had been largely repaired for the losses we have lately received. We ware Masters of the *Mediterranean* Sea, the *Turke* was reduced to the Land, and the Virtue of *Don John* of *Austria* might have given hopes to *Spain*, not t' envy *France* the glory of its *Godfrey*, and the good successe of it's Armies. But the distrust the *Venetians* had of the *Spaniards*, and th' Experience they had made under *Charles* the fifth, in the taking of *Chasteauneuf*, how unjust observers they were of th' agreements of Leagues; On the other side, the jealousie the *Spaniards* had, that the Ruine of the *Turk*, was the greatning of the *Venetians*, That they would gather the best pieces of his overthrow, and the principall fruit of the Warre; That having no cause to fear the forces of the *Turk*, they would the lesse consider the *Spanish* strength; and becomming more powerfull, they might the more crosse them in their designes for *Italy*; That, I say, corrupted the victory and frustrated th' hopes of *Christendome* and th' attempt of the World. They that know the humours of Princes, what the reasons of State are, and the nature of Leagues, will not think that strange which I have now said. Book II.

However we have drawn two notable advantages from the victory of *Lepantha*. Th'one is, that if we have not been wise enough to make profit of the Good offered us, we have been sufficiently happy in avoiding th'Evills which threatned us, if the forces of the *Turke* had not been shatter'd, and that formidable Fleet dissipated which covered all the Gulfe of *Venice* with Crescents and the lower Sea of *Italy*. Th' other advantage is, that we have given him to understand, that if his forces are greater then those of a single Prince; they are inferiour to the forces of united Christendome. And if by a designe worthy the name they beare, they combine together against him, his Greatnesse in a small time would be humbled, the Crescent shattered, and himselfe sent to the bottome of *Scythia*, from whence he took his originall. The continuation of the League, and the good Fortune of Christendome, dyed with the Life of *Pius* the

Book II. *fifth*, and if his succeſſor had had as much Zeal as he to maintain it; He was not happy enough to ſupport it, for he had the diſpleaſure to know, that the *Venetians* had broken it, and was agreed with *Selim* without the knowledge of their Confederates; whether they had Reaſon or not, I will diſcourſe in the Second part, where I will examine the Cauſes of the Treaty of *Moncon*, which we made ſome yeares paſt upon the buſineſs of the *Valtoline*.

For what concernes the warrs at Land, Tis very well known, what *Popes* have done againſt the Common enemy of *Chriſtians*, and againſt Heretiques. In the ſecond Expedition of *Soliman* againſt *Vienna*, and in th' heat which poſſeſſed him to purge off the ſhame of the firſt Expedition, It was neceſſary that *Chriſtendome* ſhould employ all her forces; That her reſt was to be ſet up and oppoſe its greateſt power to a Conquerour, whom Spight and Ambition animated to her Ruine; It muſt be confeſſed, that in this Occaſion *Charles the fifth* was truly the *Cæſar* of *Chriſtians*, and that he fought for Religion in defending his patrimony. But it muſt alſo be confeſſed, that the Cares of the *Pope* were very ſedulous to ſend him forces; To ſolicite for him in all parts, and to put him into a Condition to receive that formidable Adverſary; So *Soliman*, as powerfull as he was, durſt not advance towards him; He durſt not put his Glory to Competition with that of *Charles*; And as religious as he was, He brake th' Oath he had made, Never to return to *Conſtantinople* but as Conquerour of *Vienna*, and loaden with the ſpoiles of *Auſtria*.

So ſoon as th' *Hereſie* of *Luther* multiplied and felt it ſelfe powerfull, It appeared rebellious. All the *Septentrionals* almoſt conſpired againſt th' *Emperour*; nothing was ever ſeen ſo proud as that League, becauſe it was very ſtrong. The Standards of the Commanders were filled with proud Mottoes and with threatning words; And two Great perſons th' one for the warr, and th' other for th' Intricacyes of affaires, which were the *Duke* of *Saxe* and the *Langrave* of *Heſſen*, made up the ſoul and gave it Motion. Th' Emperour in apparance ought to be ſuppreſſed with the ſtorme that ſurprized him, and religion to have ſuffered finall ſhipwrack in *Germany*; ſo truly it had hapned, if the *Pope* had not run to his reliefe. The forces which *Paul the third* ſent him under the Command of his Nephew, were the ſinewes of *Charles the fifth's* Army. And with that re-enforcement which conſiſted of ten thouſand choſen men; That great Leavy of men was diſſipated. The *Duke* of *Saxe* was taken priſoner after he was overcome; The rebellious Cities opened their Gates

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to the victorious, and the Victory was at th' issue the *Pope* desired it; who apprehended, for th' Interest of religion, the progresse of protestants Armes; and th' too great prosperity of th' *Emperour*, for th' Interest of *Italy*; These latter yeares when Heresie overflowed at the Dyet of *Wormes*, and that it proposed to change religion in all places, with the Change of States; All *Germany* almost conspired in this Designe; and the forces which ought to have been Imployed against the *Turke* and for the Recovery of *Hungary*, were turnd against th' house of *Austria*, because it was *Catholique* or too ambitious. The revolt of *Bohemia*, and th' Election of the *Count Palatine*; The shew of their first Armes, and the weakeness of th' *Emperour*, gave feare t' other *Catholiques*, and raised the Courage of th' other Protestants in *Europe*; *Italy* was then threatned, *Rome* was also devoured in hopes; *Babylon*, said they, must be purged, and that which had been so long the principall seat of Religion, ought to be the principall seat of Heresie; In this publique Consternation of *Catholiques*, and in the feare of more tragicall Events; This Evidence is to be given to th' *Holy Chair*, That eminent Reliefes were raised against th' Evills which happned, and against them that were feared; and that the *Catholique* League of *Germany*, hath been principally th' effect of the *Popes* Authority and zeale. And truly it hath been so happy, and God so visibly declared in its favour, that we should be troubled to believe the prosperities which happned, if we had not seen them; and nothing hath fallen out more Contrary to humane Discourse, and to the shew of things than the Ruine of the *Palatine* and the resurrection of th' *Emperour*. Book II.

The Fourteenth Discourse.

Of the Prudence which ought to be observed in treating with th' Agents of the Pope, and whether it be Lawfull t' use dissimulation, and How.

THough it be easie to inferr from the precedent Discourse, How necessary it is that the *Pope* interpose in the Quarrells of Princes, and that he be made the Mediator of their Discords; Tis easie also to conclude with what circumspection their Agents are to be treated with. Another Minister of State then, treating with them, ought never to be free from distrust; which assures business; which avoydes snares; which defends from surprizes, and leaves not deceit in the power of deceivers. That he takes it for Certaine, That they are persons who bring Art to all they do and never

Book II. ver descend t' Action but well prepared; Who are Enemies t' Impetuosity, and ordinarily have no violent passion which Confoundes Discourse and disorders Reason; That of all th' humours whereof the body is composed, esteem nothing so much as Flegme; nor of all the virtues that enter into affairs, as Patience for to tire them: He ought to know, that they lose nothing, and make profit of all; That sometimes they go back, to advance the better; That the last thing they discover, is their first Intention. That they turne the back, where they would salute; as they do, who row: And though the straight lines are the shortest, they love th' oblique better t' attaine their Ends, and to hit the Mark they propose to themselves.

He ought then to be prepared against their Art and against all their Cringes: But he must in such a manner regulate his behaviour and governe himselfe with such a Temper, that he never make Discovery of his Distrust; That he make shew of free deportment, and that th' outward Appearance make out nothing but freedome. He must fortifie th' Entries of Conferences with th' opinion he hath of th' Integrity of him with whom he treats, of th' uprightnesse of his Intentions, and of the purity of his zeal for the publique Good. He must give him also a taste of His Master's Inclination, If he be our friend that he may observe it, or that of his family, if it have passion for us, that he may not depart from it. From this open Action and free proceeding in shew of designe and artifice, of three things one will arise; either Impression will be made on his will; an Entry on his soul; or an Insinuation into his Inclinations, which will be an augury for us, of the good successe of th' affair. Tis a point which they ought ever to aime at, who manadge businesse, and that they may assure themselves, that so soon as they have gained the will of any person, they become Masters of his reason, and understanding. 'Tis strange what power the second Faculty of the soul, hath, which is, to speak truth, nothing but heat and affection, above the first Faculty, which is Light and Intelligence. When she pleaseth, she drawes her by whom she ought to be guided; she makes her walk after her desires, though she ought not to be moved but by her discourses; She makes her find painting and dresses, for th' ugly things she hath Love for; she makes her disguise, under th' appearance of true, a lye which she will follow; and under th' appearance of Good, th' injustice which she will practise. This rule ought inviolably to be observed in all Negotiations, that they may be happy, That they be not manadged by persons that have aversion for one another. The second

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is, that if the person with whom one hath to do, stands firme and suffers not himselfe to be shaken by that kind of freedome and compleasancy. If he resists that charme and catch not at that bit, He will be the lesse on his guard when nothing shall be suspected by him. He will be easier tasted, he will breathe out some words to manifest his thoughts, and it may happen to him as to strong places and well provided for, which are sometimes lost by too great confidence had in their Forces, and by the little care is used to preserve them, believing that there's no need of it; To conclude, if some profitable use be not made of this Conduct, the mischiefe, which attends an open Distrust, at least, will be avoided which is ever injurious to him in whose behalfe it is exercised, which would raise in him sharp thoughts against us; and would draw th'Inconveniences we would avoid; or divert the successes which we believe, not t'owe to the Good-will of another and to his industry, but to our subtelty, and to our addresse. Book II.

Two things also are to be remembred, Th'one that th' Art which I advise is not Art, if it be not concealed; and that it workes an effect contrary to what a man proposeth to himselfe, so soon as it hath taken Aire. This so beneficiall confidence then, is to be expressed without affectation and excesse. Otherwise truly, when it makes a noyse and is irregular, when it speaks loud, and makes its action too pressing, 'Tis suspected of some designe; it engenders distrust and creates a beliefe of the contrary he would perswade. And in this particularly, That excellent Rule in Logicke is to be observed; *That who proves too much proves nothing, or that good word of th' Antients, That nothing be done too much,* or that advice of *St. Paul, To be wise to sobriety and with measure.* Th'excesse of complements wherewith the Court is infected and th'Irregularity of *Tatling* which receives neither exception nor bounds, are certaine proofs of what I have now said. So there are none but fools and new commers, that delight in it; able persons believe ordinarily the contrary, and seek the truth of intentions in the contradiction of words. Th'other thing particularly to be observed, is, Not t'employ this Art indifferently, and to all th' uses whereunto it is proper; Not to make use of it t'assault, but to defend ones self; Not to deceive, but to secure from deceit; and not to make a poyson of what ought to be a preservative. According to this sense, 'Tis also true, that dissimulation is permitted, & *That whosoever knowes not how to Dissemble, knows not how to Reign.* The foundation of this opinion is, that though lying be forbidden, & that it is a thing unworthy of man, & a

Book II. villanous perspective in his demeanor; That the exteriour should contradict th' Interiour; That the Tongue should bely the Heart, and that the Word should betray the thought, whereof 'tis th'Image and Character; 'Tis so, That no person is bound alwaies to declare his sense, to retayle all that is in the soul; To make the first commer his confessor and his Judge, and 'tis certain that God hath as well recommended silence to us to conceale Dangerous truths, as he hath given us speech to publish the Necessary Truths.

The dissimulation which tends to the Ruine of ones Neighbour, and serves for a cover to injustice, ought to be shunned of honest people. And what gaine soever it proposeth, and with what hopes of recompence 'tis attired; She cannot repaire th' evill of the breach of the bond of publique Faith, and of overthrowing the foundation of human Society; 'Tis a false prudence which th' *Ancients* have condemned; which the light of nature detests; which takes away credit from man, and makes even his good Actions to be suspected. In a word, it destroyes ordinarily them that make use of it, and those double spirits and subtile motions are often seen to fall into the snares they have prepared for others, and into the precipice they have digged for them. They who teach this doctrine, and make science of deceit, propose examples, which are capable to divert a Man, and the tragicall ends wherewith she is diverted make it appear; That when the justice of men failes, God at least failes not t' interpose his justice; To catch the Wise in their Wiles, and the Cautious in their Malice. The conduct of *Cæsar Borgia* which was the Modell of *Machavell's* Prince, and that villanous Originall whereof he made so dangerous a Copy, had in the beginning some considerable successe; But God who had permitted that person to be borne in his wrath and to punish the sins of *Italy*, and to be the Flayle of them that were lesse wicked then himselfe; abandoned him at last to justice; Took his judgment from him for destruction, permitted that no faith should be observed to him who had so often broken it; That he who was so distrustfull became Credulous, and was blind to the Nets the great Captain laid for him.

Italy, as it is the Theater of great vices and vertues, gave a little before another great Example of the same nature. *Lodwick Sforsa* believed himselfe the subtillest person of his time; His Picture and Devises retained ever some marke of that vanity; and all his entertainments are filled with that folly. He made profession to lead the great persons of *Europe* whither

ther he listed ; To have in his hands the Peace and Warr of other Nations, and to have been more powerfull with his wit and addresse, then the Conquerours were with their Force and Armies. It hapned at last, that he who had overthrown the peace of *Italy*, wherein she reposed, to satisfie his ambition; who had so often broken his Confederacies and Alliances; and had opened the way to Soveraignry by Poyson and Parricides; that he, I say, besides the great Disgraces which vexed his Life, was betrayed at *Navarre* by the *Suisses* that were payed by him ; sold to the French that made warre with him ; Imprisoned in the Tower of *Loches* ; and for ten years together served for a spectacle to all *Europe* of the frailty of greatness, and of th' Inconstancy of worldly things. Book II.

Our History is not unfurnished of illustrious examples in this subject. *Charles* of *Navarre* who had neither Faith nor Religion ; who was the Firebrand of *France* and the perpetuall disturber of its rest ; who so often played upon the easinesse of the people with his Eloquence, and so often abused the gifts of the Spirit which were admirable in him, t' afflict this Kingdome ; with how many evills did he see himself pursued ? His Quality of Prince did not exempt him from poverty nor prison ; He was eaten with long and sharp sickneſſe, and at last Fire consumed him by th' Imprudence of a servant, with a Cloath wet in Aqua-vitæ. The Constable of *Saint Paul* subsisted long in the dissimulation he compleatly practised: but in long running his Art ruined him, and desiring to make use at one & the same time of two contrary parties, He was so deserted by th'one & sacrificed to th' other. Truly if deceits and wicked wayes were not subject to violent accidents, and to such fatall conclusions, th' Ignorance, or Corruption of men is very strange, to help of natnre the wayes of reigning, and to destroy their affairs which they might find more certain, and honourable with prudence and discourse ; what pitty 'tis that so many experiences which have preceded cannot make them understand, that if vertue be sometimes unhappy, 'tis alwaies esteemed ; That it riseth oftner then Malice, when it falls, and that the good fortune of this consists not in the souls of them that exercise it, but in th' opinion of them, that behold only th' Exteriour which covers it, and the superficies that doth surround it.

The Fifthtenth Discourse.

Whether it be lawfull to make Warre with the Pope; Wherein the Demeanour which Phillip the second, observed in the Warre he made is Commended, and that of Charles the fifth Condemned.

TO resolve this matter well, and give it a full day and a perfect Cleereneſſe; 'Tis neceſſary to make uſe of the Metaphyſicall abſtractions, and to diſtinguiſh the things which are effectively joyned with the Spirit; But are truly diverſe, and have nothing of common but the ſubject which holds them, and the ſtock on which they are grafted. The *Popes* then are not now to be conſidered as Vicars of Jeſus Chriſt, Who hath proteſted that his Kingdome was not of this world, but as *Princes of th'Earth, and Lords* of certaine States in *Italy* and in the country of *Provance*.

That being ſuppoſed, I ſay in the firſt place; that it ſeems that they who have given theſe Eſtates to the Church could not beſtow them with other Intentions, than as they did enjoy them, and ſubject to the ſame inconveniences they were in the time of their enjoying them. And therefore the *Popes*, which enjoy them are not exempt from the right of Nations, no more then the firſt Maſters of thoſe eſtates, and that they ought to propoſe to themſelves; Beſides, that injuſtice is more odious in them then in other perſons, who ought t' act only by charity; That 'tis permitted t'other *Soveraignes* to do Juſtice themſelves, when it cannot be obtained of them, and that they abuſe to the ruine of men, the temporall power they have received from men. So when *Paul the fourth* declared War againſt *Phillip the ſecond* and would take away the Kingdome of *Naples* from him, to give it t'one of his *Nephewes*; Th' adviſe of the moſt eminent *Theologians of Spaine and Flanders*, and amongſt others of *Melchior Canus Porta*, was; That he ought not only t'attend in his dominions, the *Popes* Forces, and beat them back; but that he might alſo with a good conſcience enter upon the Lands of the *Church* by way of diverſion, and to prevent the ſtorme which was raiſed againſt his Territories.

I ſay, nevertheleſſe, that here diſtinction muſt be uſed, and 'tis very probable, that a Warre purely offenſive againſt the *Pope* may not ſingly be undertaken; That there's no title of juſt Warre, nor conſideration of State, which can diſpence a Prince to retaine with conſcience, what he hath gained in juſtice from th' *Holy Chaire*, and that conſequences are not

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to be drawn from what intervenes in the Commerce of Princes purely temporall, and in the Quarrels they have together in relation to what respects the good of the *Church*, and the Revenue of *St. Peter*. The Reason is, that insomuch that amongst the first, 'tis sufficient that the Warre be probably just t'authorise the conquests that are made, and make the possession lawfull of what is gained. Which happens not in the Warres that are made to *Popes*. To make out the true difference, 'tis of importance to stay a little upon this dolefull matter, and to descend even to the Root of that justice, and to the finall cause which makes the Warre lawfull. The Soveraign Princes who have no superiours on Earth, who hold only of God by themselves, and are independent as to all other men, are dependent as to Justice. And therefore so oft as they violate that Vertue, and break that Divine bond, which sustains th' Order of the World; Another Prince which shall be wronged, may repaire himself of the wrong he suffers, and satisfie himselfe with his own hands. And in this, Conscience is safe, and the Warres, made to repulse violence, are agreeable to God, and the bloud there spilt a sacrifice of a good Odour before his Divine Majesty. Wherefore in th' Antient Law he hath stirred up his people t' Arme themselves, and to fight; and he hath not disdained amongst his most Magnificent Qualities and most glorious Titles t' assume that of *God of Armies*. Book II.

This at first seems strange by reason of th' Inclination Man ought to have to sweetnesse and peace; And since 'tis not seen that Beasts are greedy of the bloud of their kinde, nor *Tygers* cruell against *Tygers*; There's cause of great amazement that men should be so ingenious to destroy one another, and so fierce to ruine their very kind, That the noblest of all Virtues is Valour, and that of making warre the most famous Art. That the glory of *Alexander* and *Cæsar* needed two Millions of Lifes, to rise to th' heighth it is at; And that ancient *Rome* allowed not the triumph but to the Murderers of allmost a whole Nation, and to them who had depopulated a Country of the Flower of their Inhabitants, and poured out the Noblest bloud of a Province. That would truly be strange, if it was done by an Instinct of Cruelty; If it proceed from a blind Envy, to drinke up humane bloud; and was conducted by any other spirit then that of Justice.

That if we make no Question to take Physicke, To permit opening of veines, and to make use also of Poyson, and of fire t' heat our bodies; How much lesse difficulty ought we

Book II. make t' imploy violent Remedies when gentle are unprofitable, and that there's no other provision to be made against th' Irregularities of Princes and of people, nor to Maintain justice which is th' health of States, and the soul of the politique Body. That if what soveraigne Princes practise in the person of their subjects, and the Example they make of their Crimes, are agreeable to God, and necessary for the world; How much more ought that to be just, which they exercise against other Princes, and is of the more Generall faults, and concern all the Nations of th' Earth in Consequence, & an infinite of particular persons in their private Interest. It were well to be wished, That of two parts which Compose the distributive; The world knew onely that which gives Crownes to virtue, and Recompences to Merit: But since Corrupted nature enclines more t' evill than to good, and that th' objects of virtue are not so frequent and active, as those of vice; That part of justice, which distributes punishment, hath by Consequent a more necessary use and more extended then th' other; and *Soveraignes* ought no more to be exempted, then particular persons, since they are alike faulty, and more dangerously Culpable. 'Tis the reason God hath put the sword into their hands, and hath Commanded that they should have power to punish, not onely the Criminalls of their states, but also to revenge th' injuryes done them, and require reason themselves of other *Soveraignes*, which had offended them, since they have no superiours, as particular persons who do the wrong.

I speak here of the wrongs which one *Soveraigne* doth to another; For what concernes the *Soveraigne* to the subject, tis a business which other Soveraigns have nothing to do with, but to behold; as not submitted to the Jurisdiction of any person, and what God hath reserved for his Tribunall and for his Justice; when the power is Legitimate th' use may be violent, without being Lawfull, for any person whatsoever t' alter it with force. The people who are oppressed, have nothing but prayers to divert it, or Patience to suffer it; Beyond that, there's no Resistance just, nor exception to be admitted. The Duty regardes not the person of Princes, but th' Authority God hath put into their hands. The bad as the good possesse it; and therefore he wills, that we acknowledge them equally, and reverence, as th' Image of his power, them whom we cannot love as th' Image of his bounty. The result of what hath been said, is, that a *Soveraigne* may sometimes strip another *Soveraigne* without injustice; That the states of th' one, may be the price and matter of Reparation for another that hath been offended:

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or of th' Expence which he hath made in the pursuit; and that there's nothing Committed, against th'order of things, if Innocent subjects suffer for the faults of their Masters. That they partake of his Evills, as of his Benefits and receive the badas good influences of the head whereof they are members. But for what concernes *Popes* and the Patrimony of th' *Holy Chair*, The Considerations is very different; They have Priviledges which are not Common t'other Princes, nor t'other States. God extends to them a Certain propriety, by reason of *Jesus Christ*, for whose Love they have been given, which renders them unalienable, which are not to be usurped without sacriledge, and above the Right of Nations, and those universall Lawes to which all Nations have consented for the Generall Good of the world. And tis not alwayes true, That the things which change Master cannot change Condition, and take the Qualities of the last possessor which they had not with the former; If the waters attract the virtues of the Mineralls by which they passe; If the goodness of the soile communicates it selfe to the plants which are brought thither, and gives them a grouth they had not in another; If the proprieties of a Crowne descend upon the Members which are united to it; And if *Bretanny* be subject to the *Salique Law* since it was incorporated into *France*; why should not the dignity of th' *Holy Chair* infuse some what of particular to the States which are belonging to it? Why should it remaine Barren? why should it be without virtue and action in that behalfe? Why should not *Holy* things have some exemption above the prophane? and the Reflexion which is made towards *Jesus Christ* obtaine some Respect from *Christian* Princes, which they give not t'one another, and some speciall Distinction. Book II.

I say, in the third place, when the *Pope* quits the functions of his Charge; and that, of Father (which he ought to be) becomes th' Enemy of his Children; when he breaks unjustly the Calme of *Christendome*, and carries the warr to the States of other princes, They may preserve for their defence, and make use of th' offensive by way of Diversion and prevention; provided that neither th' one nor th'other tend to Conquest, but onely to Conserve, and passe not the designe of a lawfull Defence. So the Duke of *Alva* did exercise it in the warr he made against *Paul the fourth*. He stayed not to make his defence just, till th' Eccleſiastique, and *French* Armies were joyned and made Incursions into the Lands of his Master. He drew into the field whilst they were preparing; Enterd the Lands of the *Church*, took many places, and gave Terrour to *Rome*. And if he would have forced the Victory

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Book II. as farr as he might, he had seen it crowned with the taking of the Chiefest Towne of the world. But his designe was t' affright the *Pope*, and not to hurt him; To shew lightning, and restraine the Thunder, to constraine him whom he could not bend, and to bring him back to his duty by violence, who voluntarily estranged himselfe from it; So after we had received affronts before *Civitella*, and before other places by the fault of the *Caraffes*; After that our Army was Constrained to draw back and might have been defeated, If the *Duke of Alva* had been disposed to have gained bloody Victories, and not to have prepared bridges for his Enemies. In their Retraite, He made an Accommodation with *Paul* and an Accord, which I preferre before the greatest Victory *Spaine* ever obtained. He restored all the places he had taken. He confessed his error. He was at *Rome* to make his submissions to the *Pope*; He demanded pardon for the fault he had committed; so *Rome* received him, as in Triumph; He had th' honour t' eate with his Holiness, and merited of his bounty the praise of being the defender of the *Holy Chair* whilst he made warr with it; And since when after six yeares of service, and for a matter of nothing, as I have else where expressed, *Philip the second* sent him a Prisoner to his house in the Country; *Gregory the third* interceded for him, and endeavoured to gaine him his Liberty. In the representing to him the long and great services, which he had rendred to *Spaine*, and to the Church, and particularly the Moderations h' used in behalfe of th' *Holy Chair*, when it was in his power t' have defaced it, unpuni shed; to make use of the priviledges of a Conquerour, and t' exercise Advantages, which force gives to them that have it; This proceeding is worthy of th' Approbation of all Ages, and th' Imitation of all Princes.

Th' Action of *Charles the fifth* in the same subject, is very different from th' other. Let us represent it as it is and in its naturall posture. Lets take away the policies and painting wherewith the *Spaniards* have disguised it; Lets not flatter a Monster which cannot be formed too hideous, and that so scandolous and black a Crime rest not unpunished in the Memory of Men. I am Content that the taking of *Rome* by *Bourbon* should be taken to be a Blow from th' hand of God, and an effect of his provoked Justice, and that the warr inclined it to that side against th' Intention of *Charles*; and that Treaty which *Moncado* made with *Clement* was done without supecery, and with Designe to Cause it to be observed by *Bourbon*, and to suffer the *Pope* t' enjoy the Truce of five Months, which had been accorded unto him; And that th'

th' Army of *Bourbon* took the bridle in the teeth, and marched towards *Rome* in spight of his Generall. I speak not of the raising of 14000 furious *Lutherans* and burning with the first Zeale of that Heresie, t'employ them in a Warre, where th'*Holy Chaire* had so great a part: But after that *Rome* was taken, & that dreadful accident was hapned by the *providence* wherewith it was guided; After that th' *Holy Citty* had served for spectacle to the World of the justice, and of th' Impiety of Men; After that the *Pope* was besieged in the Castle of *St. Angelo*; Why did not th' *Emperour* cause the scandall to cease at the first news he heard of it? Why did he not deliver *Rome* of that heretique Garrison, which abused th'holy things; who prophaned the most sacred Mysteries, of our Religion; and added to all the kinds of cruelty, all the kinds of sacriledge. Why did he suffer the *Pope* to be put to Ransom, to redeeme himselfe with Money from the vexation of victorious Heretiques; and that *Ostia* and th'other strong places of th' Ecclesiastique State, were the Price of his liberty, and th' Arguments of his servitude. I know well, that some answer may be made in his favour and for his discharge; That 'tis permitted to make use of th' Advantages which we have not sought, but fortune hath offer'd; That 'tis lawfull to draw good from th'evill which happens against our intentions; That 'tis the destiny of the things of this World, That the prosperity of some is raised by th' Adversity of others; and that th'affairs of State are like those of Merchandize, wherein the greatest secret is to know when to make right use of the time, and t' employ th' occasions to profit when they are offered. To that I answer; first that the evills which I have spoken of, and those dreadfull Accidents, were the sequells of the breach of many treaties made with *Clement*, and of the violation of publique faith in his person. And therefore, that the effects could not become Lawfull, whose causes were so notoriously unjust; That the River cannot be very sound, if the Spring be poysoned; That conclusions retain alwaies the conditions of the principles from which they arise, and partake of their spots and weaknesses; and that they who have been the promoters of some Evill, or have not diverted it when they were obliged, are bound to repaire it, and ought to be security for th' ill consequences, they bring with them. In the second place I answer, that the person of the *Pope* and the dominions of th' *Holy Chaire* are priviledged-things, and of right are not subject t' all th'Inconveniences, and t' all the disgraces to which the Person, and States of other Princes are exposed; for the Reasons above given and which shall not here be repeated. Book II.

Book II. As to th'affliction th'*Emperour* seemed to declare, at the News of th'Accident, and the Demonstrations he published of an eminent grief; As to the mourning he put on to make his Displeasure visible; and to the Processions he made upon that occasion; And the Rejoycings for the birth of his Son, He caused to cease: To weep, th'ill fortune of the *Pope*; All that, was but illusion and Comedy. So that false sadnesse suddenly disappeared, and that vain shew of griefe was presently belyed by the proceedings above mentioned. And moreover *Francis* the first reproached him in one of his Manifests; that he had dared to think to send *Clement* into *Spain*, and conceived that monstrous vanity, To have at the same time in his hands, the two principall persons of the World, and two so great prisoners as a *Pope*, and King of *France*. The *Spaniards* answerd that if *Charles* had had the will, who could have hindred him, to have executed it? And who are strong enough to oppose his designes, in a time when Fortune refused nothing to his desires, when his prosperities gave feare t'*England*, and *Italy* was amazed at the blow which it had newly received. When *France* was mortified for th'Imprisonment of its *King*, and th'heretiques of *Germany* made brags of the purging of *Rome* from its abominations, and abating the *Popedome* under th'Authority of a Catholique *Emperour*.

To that, Answer may be made with *Francis the first*, That *Charles* was diverted from that designe by th' Horror the proposition raised to all *Spaine*. That the people murmured and the Clergy raged, when there was speech of leading the Vicar of *Jesus Christ* in Triumph, and to make a Prisoner of th'head of the *Church*.

Though it be very hard to justifie the truth of this fact, & to make visible a matter so darke; 'tis better to leave it in darknesse, and to suspend herein ones beliefe, for the honour of a Prince that hath much merited of the *Church* in divers occasions, and to whom the glory of beating back *Soliman* cannot be denyed, and th'assuring of all *Christendome* in the defence of his patrimny, and the States of his brother. At least, 'tis certain that if he was a sinner, he was a Penitent; and that he washed his faults with the teares of three years, which he poured out in his retraite from the world, before death tooke him away from it.

Others aggravated this fault by th'Evills which Fortune raised t'interrupt his prosperities, and by the diverse faces which she shewed to them of his Race. They mentioned the disgraces of his Brother, The Route of his Armies at *Ezechio*, and at *Bude*, and th'other Victories which Valour did

did not so much give to the *Turk*, as th' ill Fortune of *Ferdinand*, and the Cowardise of his Captains. They did not conceale th' occasions wherein he saw his designes overthrown, and his person in danger; The sinking of his Fleet in th'haven of *Algiers*; and that fearfull losse, which hath not been equalled by any losse made by Christians on the Sea, but by that, which his Son made in the Sleev of *England*; They represent the successe which the second League had against him in *Germany*: The Chase which *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony* gave him; And the necessity whereunto he was reduced, to save himselfe by night, and the sixth person at *Isburg*, and to consent to the peace of *Passo* so injurious to *Religion*, and so unworthy of th' *Empire*: And to conclude, they adde th' ill successe of the Enterprize of *Provance*, and the shame of the siege of *Mets*, which was the last deceit fortune put upon th' *Emperour*, and th' accomplishment of the designe he meditated to put himselfe out of her power in quitting the World where she is so soveraign. I will not affirme, that all these Evills befell him in revenge of the sacking of *Rome*, and th' affront offered to th' *Holy Chaire*. It might happen that God sent or permitted them for that subject; And it might fall out also, that they sprang from other reasons, and were th' effect of another cause. Insomuch, that according to the judgements that are made upon that Matter, and th'Examples which are alleadged of them whom God hath punished for offending of *Popes*; There's more in it of opinion then of science, and of conjecture then certitude. For who hath been of God's counsel? who ever entred into the depths of his Wisedome? Who hath pierced the darknesse where he hids himselfe? and to whom hath he discovered the secrets of his providence, and th'hid causes of the government of the world? The Death of *Bourbon* of the first instances given is not so concluding an Example, nor so demonstrative as 'tis believed, against what I have now said. I deny not, but that God might have permitted it as the punishment of the sacriledge he committed in forcing *Rome*, or as the vengeance of the breach of a Treaty whereupon *Clement* trusted, and whereof the confirmation had been often repeated unto him to surprize him. But I know also that the violent end of that Prince might proceed from a cause meerly accidentall, and th'ordinary fruits of a profession which spares no person, and where Musket shot makes no distinction betwixt private Souldiers and Generalls of Armies. It might also happen; that if the justice of God did particularly consider that death; It was to correct a man whose Revolt did so much evill to his King,

Book II.

Tenebræ, latibulum ejus.

Book II. King, and cost so dear to his Country; or more likely as a Revenge for *Lombardy* which he deserted to be spoyled with Cruelties and Rapines, and not to suffer his perjury to passe unpunished when he promised *Milan* t'ease it of the Garrison that devoured it, and to draw from it willingly, the last drops of its bloud, and what remained in it of Substance.

The Sixteenth Discourse.

The defence of Gaston *of* Foix *against them, who say that God punished him for making warre to* Julius *th'*eleventh *with the comparison of that Prince, and of the great Captain.*

I Am sorry that *Gaston* of *Foix* is placed amongst th' Examples whom they say God hath punished for having made Warre. The respect I bear the vertue of that Prince; The great things he did in his very youth, and the value some Lords of *France* have with me; being of his bloud, and who have with him the same Originall, are the causes that I will defend him here of Calumny, and averre that he had the Noblest Death and most glorious Life for the time it lasted, that History makes mention of, or fame doth publish; 'Tis certain that *Gaston* made warre in a time when the Nations of Christian Princes were confused, and their passions very different for th'Interests of th'*Holy Chaire*. *Julius the second*, who was then in the Chaire, seemed to have forgot what he was; and to have renounced the Quality of common Father to make himselfe, Head of a party; or at least Member of a League formed against *France*; The jealousie he had to see us in the heart of *Italy*; The implacable hatred he bore to the *King*, and the effects whereof he had made him to feel in the person of the *King* of *Navarre*, whose kingdome he had interdicted; Obliged *Lewis the twelfth* to prepare against the Tempest that threatned him, t'exercise the Right of Nature, and t'oppose force to force, and to repaire to counsel to stop the violencies of th' Armies of th' *Holy Chair*, which *Julius* had on foot, not t'heal but to kill; not to edifie, but to destroy.

In this occurrence, when the Right seemed to be of *Lewis*'s side, *Gaston* had the command of th'Army in *Italy*. And though the subject ought not to discourse upon the designe of his Master, when he ought to follow without enquiry whither he goes, and that the Law which ought to be observed, doth not alwaies declare the vertues of what it ordains; *Gaston* executed the orders of the King in a cause evident-

evidently lawfull. To whom he owed obedience, even in Matters whose right had been ambiguous, and justice doubtfull; That if he were slaine at the battell of *Ravenna*, and perished in an Occasion whereunto no person goes not to dye, but t' overcome, as he did, The chance of Armes hath so ordained it, and his Death was the more noble, that it encounterd with his Duty, and that he was slain in the Exercise of his Charge. Book II.

I speak not at this time of other Circumstances, which make his death glorious. To dye at th' age of two and twenty yeares, being almost assoon Captaine as Souldier; having almost at the same time put forth flowers, and brought forth fruits; after a Number of Victories whereof none were small, and the least might have laid a foundation, of Reputation for an eminent person; and in the midst of a prosperity so constant, that it was never in the power of fortune t' interrupt it; and so suddaine and Impetuous, that ordinarily the last successes troad upon the former without Interruption, and the newes followed one another without Intervall. Add to this, th' Esteem his virtue had gained when he dyed; the feares and hopes it diversly occasioned in the world; and the contrary passions it produced in equall degree in the soules of his Friends and Enemies. It was such, that the *French* could not rejoyce in the Battell they had gained, becaus that Prince dyed there. That *Lewis the twelvth.* wished the like Victories to his Enemies to ruine them; and, what is most eminent and remarkable, That it forced *Ferdinand* of *Castille* to reconcile himselfe to the great Captaine, and to withdraw him from that Retiredness to which a jealousie of State had confined him, to send him back to *Naples* and t' oppose *Gaston*, if he had longger lived; That it constrained an old Man, and a Soveraign-Prince to suppresse so imperious a passion, and to restore t' Imployment one of his subjects whose greatness was in jealously with him. To dye in that high Reputation, and go out of the world, before tryall was made of the Revolutions of it; If it be a stroak of vengeance from Heaven, and the price of some great Crime; Let generous soules, that have th' appetite for Glory, and some Resentment of honour, be Judges of it.

Since we have said that *Gonsalve* was to passe into *Italy* t' oppose *Gaston*, and that *Ferdinand* had designed him that Great adversary, if he had out-lived the journey of *Ravenna*; Lets observe a little on whom in that warr th' advantage might have rested, and on what side the victory have leaned, in a Difference where the Parties were so equall.

Book II. It may not peradventure be amisse to divert the Reader with pleasure, and t' entertaine him with a piece not unpleasant, though of no relation to the work. *Titus Livius* hath sometimes done the like amongst th' Ancients, and *Paruta* amongst the Modernes, and I cannot be much blamed in th' Imitation of them, nor t' have failed after two so great Examples. Tis true, that the subject which I shall treate upon is extreamely ambiguous and much perplext. If it be nevertheless lawfull to ground some judgment upon the future, and to cast our eye upon a thing so remote, Tis probable, that the virtue of *Gonsalve* had given place to that of *Gaston*; that it had given him the field; and that fortune would not have abandoned a young servant, that knew how to make use of her favours, for a person that made no esteem of it, and was compelled to retire in the midst of Enjoyment. The long time that had passed wherein *Gonsalve* had not made warr, and the great Cessation, in a profession that affords always somewhat to be learnt; had without question much changed him from what he was: And as Iron rustes, when it is not handled, and Aire corrupts, that is long shut up and putrifies; so th' Art of making warr is unlearnt, if it be discontinued; and military Abilities are weakened, if they are not exercised.

Secondly, Age that hath the property to take away the good sense, and to ripen prudence; hath also the defect to freeze the blood, and the spirits, and to weaken th' active Qualities, which are the Chiefest principles of Execution, and the neareſt Causes of Victories. Insomuch that the Coldness of Age, if it have nothing but experience, prevents sometimes the committing of faults, but not alwayes the suffering of Losses, and is not capable of Enterprizes that are not happy, because they are bold; nor of Certaine designes wherein there's lesse need of Circumspection then of Courage. We have also seen a great number of Brave persons whose Age hath taken away their Reputation, and whose Glory hath been effaced by long Life. We have no example of this truth more visible then that of *Marius*: His valour accompanied alwayes the disposition of his Temper, It entertained it selfe in his faireſt yeares, and fell in the fall of his body, and in the cadency of his Age. It hath also been observed, that the greateſt part of Conquerours, and vanquishers of Nations, did not attaine th' Age of sixty yeares; and that Many of them have finished their dayes much short of that time by naturall death, or by a precipitated or violent End. *Cæsar*, *Charles the fifth*, *Francis the first*, *Henry the fourth*, and the last *Prince* of *Orange*, failed betwixt fifty and sixty

sixty yeares. And one of these stayed not to give over busi- Book II.
nes, till he was in Condition no longer to retaine it; nor to give over his greatnesse, till death would have taken it from him; But by a Prudence, higher then that of the world, and by Motives more generous then those that had made him t undertake so great things; He quitted the functions of th Empire, t' exercise them onely of a Man; and chose rather t' end his Life in th' humility of a Religious person, then with th' Ambition of a Monarch.

The Prince of *Parma*, who had th' honour, to give Life to the Military discipline of th' Ancients, and to advance that faire work which the Prince of *Orange* had finished, dyed at th' age of Eight and forty yeares. And 'tis true, That his Glory began to decline, that th' affaires obeyed him no more, as they had before done; and that his last designes had neither the good fortune of Event, nor the grace of Execution as the former had; *Alexander*, *Germanicus*, *The Marquis of Pessary*, and *Don John of Austria* have encountred the same period of Life, and a death almost alike. All four passed not the Age of thirty and three yeares; and all four fell rather by the Malice of others, and with great suspition of poyson, then by the fault of their Complexion or by open force.

This rule nevertheless is not so generall, that it admits not of Exceptions; and there all valours, which resist the Ruine of the body, and th' injuries of Age they maintaine themselves in spight of the Time. Insomuch, that 'tis not the blood that heats them, but reason that enlighteneth them; And without speaking of the present Age, the past hath produced a Constable of *Mountmorancy* and a *Duke of Alva*, who have preserved an entire Reputation to the very extremity of Age; whose last actions have been the Crownes of the first, and the Conclusion of life, the glory of all the rest. This nevertheless is very pure, and tis otherwise true, That fortune hath been pleased to favour young Captaines, when they were wise against th' old, who have not the Courage so active, nor the Virtue so violent. And by consequence there's some apparance, that she would have declared for *Gaston*, and been of his party against the *Great Captaine*.

Thirdly the great Captaine came to the Government of an Army whose officers and souldiers were scarce known unto him, nor had th' army other knowledge of him then his Reputation and Glory. Insomuch that 'tis a Question, if there had been any Sympathy at least at his first comming betwixt th' head and the Members, whether their Manners had agreed, and the Proportion had been adjusted to the Com-

mand

Book II. mand and obedience. *Fourthly*, he came to Command an Army shattered and of unfortunate Troops; and he was necessitated at the same time to fight the despaire of his souldiers, and the boldnesse of his Enemies. On the Contrary *Gaston* was in Exercise, and in breath, and the warr he carried into the kingdome of *Naples* had been but a Consequent of his good fortune, and the Continuation of that. He newly finished most happily in *Romagna*: He exercised a Soveraigne power in his Army: He had th' heart of all his Souldiers: they loved him as their Companion, and respected him as their Generall: His beauty and good fashion, and the other Graces of the body did render virtue the fairer, and in an age when they make strongest Impression, and have an action more lively: His bounty that was extreame and just; that was neither excessive, nor retentive; that knew how to give much, and to distinguish of Persons; that obliged honest Persons, and contented the covetous. His Courtesie was capable to compell his Enemies to change their passion, and to love him in the practise of it; Th' Eloquence wherewith he changed the spirits of Men, prepared Courages for him as he would have them; and brought Moderation t' impetuous spirits, and boldnes to the fearefull. All these Qualities, I say, together, might give him hopes to lead his army as farr as humane force could go, and he ought not to have proposed any difficulties to himselfe but impossibilities.

Briefly, Th' opinion the souldiers had of his Fortune and Virtue, and th'Experience they had so often made of Th' one and th' Example he had given them of Th' other; Enabled them to dare all dangers under so valliant a Commander, and t'hope all good successe under so happy a Commander.

From all these Conjectures, I conclude very rationally, that the death of *Gaston*, hath been the good fortune of *Gonsalve*. That if *Gonsalve*, deserved to be compared to *Scipio*, That our Heroique *Gaston*, if he had lived long, had deserved preference to both of them. And if the greatnes of things he ought to have done, were to be judged by them he had done; That none of th' ancient Captaines had surpassed him in the Glory of Armes, and that He had surpassed all the Moderne Captaines.

Conside-

Considerations upon the principall things which the King hath done, since the Landing of th' English in th' Ile of Rhé, *which will declare some Conditions necessary for a Minister of State.*

The third Book.

The First Discourse.

Of what Importance, Care and Vigilancy are, for a Minister of State; and that nothing is to be neglected, principally in Warre.

CAre, Labour, and Vigilancy, are not things purely spirituall; The body seems therein to have the best part, and if they derive their Originall from th' understanding. they determine in the matter, and sensible objects do bind them; They are the neerest causes of execution, and without them a Minister of State may perad venture be wise, but can never be happy. On the contrary; there's no difficulty, nor resistance which may not be forced by their aide; with them fortune is constrained to follow; Good counsells are assured; Bad are corrected; Things are supported and overthrown; and that form is almost given to businesse which is proposed; 'Tis then of great Concernment to neglect nothing that may be profitable, That no accident is to be esteemed smal, if it may incommodate; That every moment ought to be of precious esteem, if it be necessary for us. And that the *Maxim* of Morality be remembred, *That evill is raised out of the least defect in things; and that Good to be such requires that every part be entire and sound.*

Above all, in great misfortunes, & in the violence of fortune

Book III. that all advizes must be heard; and all things attempted, though they seem impossible; For then, much must be hazarded, provided that it be not all, unlesse we are constrained thereunto, and cannot save our selves but in running a course to destroy our selves. Moreover, we ought t' imitate the *Wise Physitians* who will never ordain dangerous Remedies, and whose operation is doubtfull, but they will trye diverse, of whose goodnesse they may not be fully assured but that they shall not kill if they heal not, and will not make th' evill worse if they do not ease it; In a word, 'tis not to be believed what great and incredible effects are produced by an exact care, by a constant diligence, by an infatigable contest, and by that prudent inquietude which alwaies acts, which forgets nothing, which never gives it selfe liberty, and forceth at last what holds too fast, and draws what will not follow.

Cæsar was incomparable in these Qualities, as in all other that forme a great Captain. No person ever took more pains in the Warre; or exercised more functions together in his Army, nor that more desired to be present in all occasions, or that was more obstinate t'execute his resolutions, not to retire when he was once advanced, and not to stand in the midst of an enterprize; 'Tis true that he deliberated much before he undertook any thing, and did not cast himselfe blindly upon any designe; He did not prepare to make war after he had begun to make it; The provisions answered alwaies to the time, he had forecast to make them continue; and th'execution never deceived his providence. But after that he lost not a moment of time, nor an occasion of advantage, and never remitted to the next day what he might execute the same day. He seldome trusted but to his eyes and judgement, and for the most part he went in person to view the Country he would assault, and th' enemies he was to fight. When th' occasion prest, he made incredible Marches. He passed Rivers by swimming, t' avoid going about to gain Bridges; He crossed the Seas in small Vessels to make the more diligence, and chose rather to sayl in Storms, then suffer his businesse to run hazard; and to put his person in danger, rather then his fortune: And it must not be a wonder, if in his profession he left all the men in the world behind him; And if it hath been doubted, To whom the victory had remained, if *Alexander* had made Warre to the growing Common-Wealth; No Question can be made but he was inferiour to *Cæsar*, who destroyed it in its most vigorous Age, and in th'excesse of its force, and made it fall from th'height of its greatnesse, and from the top of its Power.

On

On the contrary, the reason why the Reputation of so many Men, is seen to passe with the time, and their glory t' extinguish; 'Tis the diminution of Labour, and the default of Vigilancy; This diminution & default proceed from severall causes. The first is, that as in the condition of particular persons, a mans fortune doth not alwaies advance with equall pace, and with an uniforme progresse; That it stops toward th' end or moves slowly, though it come with impetuosity and swiftnesse: Insomuch that he who burnt with impatience in the beginning to quit poverty, and laboured with Zeal to become Rich; So soon as his desire is satisfied, and that he sees himselfe in plenty, H' abates of his cares, and would enjoy with rest th' fruits of his industry. So the man whose spirit is possessed with the passion of glory, and meditates the great actions which do beget it; when he hath attained his end; That he hath filled the World with the reputation of his vertue, and hath formed in himselfe a great opinion of himselfe; Th' hunger of honour which pressed him at first, becomes moderate; and by consequent, his first contest weakens, and his ordinary diligence diminisheth. Book III.

A second cause of this diminution, is Age; and 'tis no wonder, if the body which destroyes it selfe grieves the Soul; and if it operate not with the same vigour, as it did, when th' Organs are spoyled, and th' instruments of use weare out; This rule nevertheless is not absolutely true, and hath its exceptions, as I have said elsewhere.

A third cause are the diseases; which produce the same effects, and more dangerous then Age, because they produce them more suddenly, and with more violence; and 'tis not possible, that in the griefe of the body, and weakenesse of nature, a man can intend things, that are without him, and at the same time contest with the disease and businesse. Besides, what hath been said before of *Phillip the second*, The *Spaniards* have also observed, that their affaires in the *Low Countryes* declined with th' health of the *Prince* of *Parma*, and began to change when he began to be sick; and nevertheless being of a very vast spirit, and active humour, He would not abate any thing of his accustomed occupations. He would do more then he could. He would retain the same authority in businesse, as when he had his health. He could not ease himselfupon the cares of another, and thought that nothing was well done, but what was done by his Orders. When he was hurt before *Candebu*; He put the command of th' army into the hands of his Son; and in regard he was but a young Prince, and to whom experience was wanting, and that sort of

Book III of Capacity which comes not from study, or nature; He would supply that defect by his Counsells; Th' Army was at *Iuetot*, and the father at *Candebu* where he was dressed of his wound? There he would be Consulted with upon all Occurrences, and th' order for what was to be done was fetched a League off. In the mean time, the time passed in going and coming; the state of the warr changed Countenance; new Accidents demanded new Counsells, and the *Spaniards* lost faire occasions t' inomomodate us whilst they went t' aske his permission, and we made no small advantage of the Disorder of a body, that was so disunited from th' head that governed it.

But to make the benefits of Vigilancy the better t' appeare, and th' operations of that sharp virtue, and of that unquiet Prudence, which is ever in Action, which makes profit of all things; that suffers nothing t' escape, and particularly in the warr where occasions stay not and never returne, when they are once fled away; Lets demonstrate this by apt examples; When *Gaston* of *Foix* drew to the Relieſe of *Bonlogna* against th' Army of the League which had besieged it; If at th' entry of the Towne, he had drawn out to Charge th' Enemies, he had surprized them; He had defeated them without resistance, that had not been on their guards because they distrusted nothing; and the delay of one night which He gave at the Requests of his Captaines for some rest to his souldiers, ravished from us a victory which had all *Italy* for price, and cost us a little after the Life of that prince which was of more vertue then all *Italy*. Th' evening before the battell of *Jury*, The late *King* had taken his quarter at *Menoncour*; The *Marshall* of *Charters* was to discover it, and observed that his Army was weake and affrighted; *Sr.* of *Maine* nevertheless would not Charge that evening t' untire his souldiers, who were haressed with the Labour of the way, and with the long Marches they had made; in the mean time three thousand foot, and Eight hundred horse, arrived in the night to the *King*, who gave Courage with th' hopes of victory to his Army, and after prevailed for the gaine of the Battell; which they run hazard the day before to lose.

As to th' Important victories, which Care and Diligence have occasioned, and have as it were forced from the hands of destiny; I observe three famous ones amongst the *Modern* and which ought to be observed with a particular attention. The defeate of *Francis* the first before *Pavy* is without doubt, a work of th' Emperours fortune, and of the virtue of the *Marquis of Pessary*, who was one of the chiefe Commanders

Commanders of his Army. But it ought chiefly to be attributed to his Industry, and to that Indefatigable and hot humour which never gave him any Rest, which held him in perpetuall action; which exercised him day and night, and forced business t' obey him, and to come to the point he had proposed to himselfe. In that manner He overcame us against all shew of Apparance, and got the better of us, though we had then no need of any thing but patience t' overcome; That we had nothing to do but to defend our selves, and t' hinder being defeated for to defeate them: First he did beat downe the Forts which covered our Army, and rendred his Avenues safe; He advanced towards us without losse of time, or taking of rest, and before almost we could see them come. He fell into the *Kings* Quarters, and constrained him to fight, and to put t' hazard what he had assured, if he had kept his advantage. On the contrary theres no place of excuse for *Francis*, nor to palliate his blindness, and that stupid negligence, wherewith he was possessed in the midst of his Army, without knowing the State or Number of it, but by the report of his Captaines; and not knowing the designes of his Enemies, till he was not in a Condition to break them, and not being prepared to resist them but believing them too weake t' assault him. A notorious fault in Warr, wherein the necessity of fighting should never be permitted, nor t' act at the pleasure of enemies; where they ought never to be despised or esteemed weake; where th' Eyes ought to be imployed on all things, and nothing neglected, and where small Accidents are ordinarily the beginnings of great Revolutions, and th' originall of the good, or bad success of Enterprizes. The second Example is of the last *Duke* of *Guise*, when he defeated th' Army of *Germans* which came to overcome *France* under the Command of the *Duke* of *Bouillon*, and of the Baron of *Auneau*. So soon as he had discovered th' Army he never allowed it any rest, and lost not an occasion of Incommodating it; He gave it Continuall Alarmes to tire it; He had it in his Braine, when it Marched; He vexed it in its Quarters. He cut off the wayes of Provisions from all sides, and at last in three encounters at *Vimony*, at *Auneau*, and at *Mont Belliard*, dissipated the whole Army.

Book III

The third Example is, the Reliefe of th' *Island* of *Ré*. It must be acknowledged that the glory of that success, which will appeare another day a Miracle in the life of the *King*, or a fable in History, is an effect of the piety of that Prince, and a visible Argument of th' Inclination which th' heavens have for him; But it must be also confessed, that this good

Book III fortune was not given him freely, and that he hath aided th' Hands of God to work this wonder; The feaver hath newly left him: His recovery was yet uncertaine, and it was necessary for his Courage to compleate the support of his body when he put himselfe into the way to find th' *English*: what he did in an Occasion apparantly deplorable, may be judged by his accustomed Actions, which were alwayes of greatest difficulty; And though th' Actions of *Princes* resemble th' Essences which containe a great Virtue in a small Quantity; and though they do little, yet operate much by reason of the force of th' *Example*; So it is that the *King* would not have believed his Charge to have been discharged but in doing more then th' others. If he had put them onely on their way, to let them after that march of themselves; had he not alwayes served them for guid; If he had not made way for them without Interruption; and if he had not been the last to quit labour and to retire from Action. Moreover it must be further avowed, that as in th' affaires whereof we now speak, He hath forgot nothing of the duty of an Active, and labourious *Prince*, and that he hath also there Compleately served; so that th' Instruments which he there imployed, betrayed not the virtue of the principall Cause; *Monsieur* his *Brother* made his first Armes there very remarkable, and the beames of that rising valour have been so lively and pure, that it was visible they could not proceed, but from a spring extreamly faire, and that greater beginnings could not be expected from the son of *Henry the fourth*, and from the *Brother* of *Lewis the just*. As to *Sr. the Cardinal*, tis certaine that he brought unto the work an extraordinary Conteſt of body and spirit, and that the cares and diligence He used in that Occasion were incredible, as th' effect that did arise from them. He manadged it in such sort, as a sick person is handled, to whom so little of life remaines, that the least siniſter Accident that befalls him, destroyes him; and the least things forgot of what might be Cordiall, would kill him. Two hundred postes dispatched in lesse then two Months, so many orders given, within and without the *Kingdome*; no advice neglected, that had any apparance of Good; so many vessells got together in so little Time, and so many provisions made for the revictualing of the place besiged. In Briefe, all that humane Industry hath of Inventions All that prudence hath of Conduct: All that diligence hath of activity, and all that Courage hath of boldnes, employed in this Occurrence; are th' Infallible proofs of what I have said.

But t' act in this Manner; It imports that a soul be extreamly

extreamely free, and have no passion but for his duty; That it be not divided, and 'tis not too much, that it employes all its forces in Occasions whereunto enough cannot be brought, and wherein th'Affairs are but imperfectly done, if any other Inclination divide them; That if we have seen great persons, as *Cæsar*, burne with Love and Ambition and done incredible things; That if he gave himselfe up to the pleasures of sense, and to the conquest of the World; It was that those two Passions never entred into contest in his spirit, nor disputed of the Victory; and when the last appeared, the first gave it place, and left the field free; yet 'tis not possible, but they savoured of the relation, and that the contagion of th'one could not but offend th'other. This hapned even to *Cæsar* as incomparable he was, and the Love of *Cleopatra* had once almost destroyed him, and had cost him with his Life th'Empire of the World, If he had not by swimming, passed the *Nile* to save himselfe. But that *Sr. the Cardinall* hath this Liberty of soul whereof we speak, I have elsewhere shewed, and therefore unnecessary to be here repeated. Book III

The Second Discourse.

That the true exercise of Politique Prudence consists in the Knowledge of Comparing things with things, and to choose the greatest Good, and t'avoid the greatest Evill; And to consider whether the Counsell Sr. the Cardinall *gave to passe into th'Iland of* Rhé, *was grounded upon the Rules of Prudence; And if the King did well to march into* Languedoc *after the taking of* Suze.

'Tis a strange Hazard, and a hard necessity to be shut up betwixt two troublesome extreams, and of two evills which present themselves joyntly, to chuse the least. This last is a thing which all the World desires to do, and for which Nature hath imprinted in us a violent and sharp instinct. The lesser Evills appeare good when they are preservatives from greater, and physick is good by reason of the diseases it is ordained against. But to know how to make use of so dangerous a Composition, to know how t'hold the Balance strait, that is filled with venemous drugs, and whose odour strikes into th'heads of them that hold it; and to discerne of things, whose quality astonisheth the sense and confounds the judgement, if it be not accompanied with Courage; 'Tis not th'Effect of an ordinary prudence; 'Tis not employed with lesse difficulty though with more compleasancy

Book III. pleasancy when good things are to be compared amongst themselves, and to discover the difference; when the spetious things are to be distinguished from the profitable; and them that have weight in them, from them that make a shew; when we are to be exercised amongst the Caresses of Fortune, and the favours which she offers us, to stop at the greatest of them.

I have observed two places amongst many others in the Life of the King, where, as I conceive, he hath divinely prospered in these two kinds of *Prudence*, as he hath made most wise choices upon the Counsels which have been proposed. Th' one upon the Counsell *Sr. the Cardinall* gave to passe part of th' Army into th' Iland of *Rhé*, to fight th' *English*, who without that had been Masters of it. T'expose of one side those brave Troops and Choyse Souldiers; sacrifice so much Nobility whereof there were Princes; To send poor Boates against a Fleet of great Ships. It seems truly to have hazarded much, and to give up too much to Fortune. But also on th' other side, who shall consider that the losse of our Troops was not infallible, but that th'losse of th' Iland was if they had not passed, That the remedy was dangerous, but that there was none other t'heal the disease, and that one part of the State was ready to be divided betwixt Domestique Rebellion and forrain Domination, if th'Iland had not been relieved; must confesse that this Counsell was not lesse commendable in the spring than in the succesſe. If it was very bold, it was intirely necessary, and one could not only not do better, but it could not have been well done if it had been otherwise done.

Th'other observation is in respect of the Counsell, which *Sr. the Cardinall* gave to hasten to *Languedoc* after the taking of *Zusa*; It must truly be confessed, that then there was a necessity to make a defence against the most subtile attempt & fairest shew of good, which might have seduced an understanding if it had not been very strong to make resistance. *On th'one side the State of Milan* was in prey, and that beautifull Countrey which heretofore gave so much love and jealousie to two great *Princes*, which cost *France* and *Spain* so much Bloud, and put *Christendome* so often into a Combustion to know who should have it; was ours without resistance. It depended upon the *King* in apparance to become Master, and to take revenge of th'affronts which we have received there, and of the five times that they had driven us by force out of the Countrey. It was unfurnished of men of War, and there was but some miserable Troops, that had escaped at the siege of *Casal*, and which the sole report of our Armes had

To Francis *the first, and to* Charles *the fifth.*

had overcome. All the Princes of *Italy* made us tender of their Aides, and believed that th' Hower was come to take away the Fetters from their feet, and deliver their Country from the yoak which was not naturall to it, and from that violent Domination whose shadow was dangerous t'all its Neighbours, and weakned their Liberty if not oppressed it; The *Emperour* was diverted against the *King of Denmarke* and he could not draw his Armies from thence without abandoning his Victories, and without betraying his good Fortune. Book III

Spain had neither Men nor Moneyes; It was astonished at the losse their Fleet had newly suffered; it saw powerfull preparations in *Holland*, which threatned the Low Countries, and a formed tempest which it could not conjure down: In a word, *Milan* lost, *Naples* could not be preserved; and *Flanders* would have been lost of it selfe, in shutting up that passage, from whence it received its principall supplies to make Warre. And nevertheless this great power which gave fear to so many powers, which was formidable even to the *Turks and Barbarians of Affrica*; which is fatall to the rest of *Christian* Nations, which obliged all of them to be with us or against us; Had been beaten with that single stroake, and we had nothing more within to fear when the springs of our troubles had been stopped without, and the Instruments broak which make and nourish our divisions, and humbled th' Authors or Promoters of our civill discords. These were the thoughts that in that time exercised the spirits of many persons, and particularly of th' *Italians*; and as 'tis the custome of men t'accommodate their thoughts to their interests, and to flatter themselves in their desires, they imagined that ours were like theirs; Though in that poynt, our Interests were disagreeing. But also on th' other part, who shall consider that men must not spend their time about setting their haire, or paring their Nailes when th' Heart and the Brain are sick; That great States never perish by a *Forraign* violence, so long as th' Interiour is in health, and th' Entrails sound, and that they ruine of themselves when the corruption is within, and th' Evill hath seised upon the Noble parts: That in long Warrs abroad, a *Prince* ought not t' engage himselfe when the Diversion is ever ready within, and that ther's a formed feaction in the middle of the State, which will not fail to disturb for to prevaile of th' Occasions. That the discontented will foment, if they dare not publique assist, and to whom strangers will give heat, or forces to disturb us by our selves; For to consume us at easie Chargges and alwaies to weaken us either by losse or victory; Who

Book III shall consider, I say, these things, will avow that the Returne of the *King* into *Languedoc* was a stroake of the gaine of the decision of our Domestique Affairs & the good of Forraign Affairs. Furthermore, Could a greater misfortune befall us, then to lose the occasion of finishing the Ruine of a party, that held *France* in Languishment more then sixty years, & had reduced it to a State equall to that of certain persons, who know not what health is; but are alwaies busie either t'heal th'evills they suffer, or to present them they feare. The conjuncture past; It was probable it would not returne of a long time, and that 'twas to no purpose t'hope or expect it; It was so contrary to that party, that it could not but be relieved from *Germany*, that laboured to defend its proper Liberty; That *England* was wearied in protecting an ill cause; That th' *Hollanders* durst not irritate *France* openly by reason of th' use they have of it; and that they have learned to regulate their Charities by their Interests, and the Zeal of Religion by the Zeal of State: That the *Spaniards* had greater action in *Flanders* & *Italy*, than they could master, and could not act against us, but with a little Money, & with vain promises.

In the third place, The Reputation of the Kings Armes was incredible, it could alone make conquests; It could overcome without fighting, and never Prince was better served of his Souldiers, or more feared of his Enemies. Our Souldiers were in heat and full of hope. The past victories were certain arguments of future, and after the taking of *Rochell*, & forceing of *Suza*, overcomming what was defended by Sea and covered with mountains; They ought not t'apprehend any thing *difficult*, nor any thing *impossible*. It was then the only proper season to defeat that party which *Sr. the Cardinal* most judicially observed, and the King most divinely made choyce of. If that expedition had been longer deferr'd, the plague alone had been sufficient to force us from *Languedoc*, and to defeat our Armies; and if we had been engaged in *Italy* what had not *Monsieur of Rohan* don with the Aid of strangers, which had not failed him? If the *Spaniards*, who ever promise timely and almost without deliberation; who performe slowly, and after long consultations; but who spare nothing when they are well engaged in a businesse, and have put those that serve them in a condition not to be able to repent, or unable to retire it; If the *Spaniards*, I say, had performed the conditions of the Treaty they had made with him, and furnished the Money they had promsed. If the forces of *Savoy* had passed into *Dauphine* to joyne with him as the resolution was taken

taken; If ours had been divided within and without the *Kingdome*, and if th' hope of Change and Expectation of a better fortune, had withdrawne from their duty, them of that party which feare retained; He had without doubt broken all our designes, because they were destitute of its Advantages; frustrated of forraigne promises; Abandoned of the soundest and most Considerable party of *Hugonotes* in the poverty of all them that aided him; and in the distrust of some, and irresolutions of others. In certaine Corners of a Province where he commanded, He gave so much trouble, that the presence of the *King* was necessary and six Armies to reduce him. Book III

Moreover 'tis a great discourse to speak of the Conquest of *Milan*, and to renew beyond the Mountaines the pretentions of our fathers; Tis a designe which well deserves Consideration before it be attempted, and requires another Conjuncture, than that wherein we are found; For who is ignorant, that tis not for the good of *France*, nor th' Interest of *Italy*, that the *King* be *Duke of Milan*? Who knows not that our Conquests, if we should Maintaine them, would give greater jealousie to the *Princes* of that Country, then the domination whereof they complaine; That they esteeme us worse Masters, and more dangerous Neighbours then the *Spaniards*; and that the Manners, and Temper of the *Spaniards*, are more Conformable unto their *Flegme* and severity, than our Heat and License. That they believe that we are a more certaine and assured Counterpoyse to th' Ambition of others than they would be to ours; That the facility we have to make our Armies descend into their Countrey, and th' aboundance of men to relieve them, might give the desire of undertaking and usurping it; That th' occasion stirres up the most lazie, and raiseth the most sleepy; That present objects do raise all the faculties; and that Commodity and Conveniency provoke th' Appetite of Conquest which is otherwise moderate and quiet. And though th' Ambition of the *Spaniards* hath neither Moderation nor bounds; That they desire violently and desire Many things; That in th' order of their Counsells which neither change nor dye, They have declared the warr t' all Nations, which hold not of them by subjection or dependency; since this End is immoveable, & that they are troubled onely in finding just Meanes t'attaine it; and that they sometimes take such as are not just, when others faile, since of a long time they have made love t' *Italy*: That they can no longer dissemble their passion; that for some yeares past, they have put off their Mask, and made it known that they must have

Book III. have it; and enjoy it, though they should ravish it; since they are not so poor of Men as they have been, since *Germany* is for them, & that they have at their devotions that great spring of Men of warr; soit is that th' *Italians* see well, that the victories of th' *Emperour* have no deep roots, That its prosperities do yet shake; that them he holds, make great attempts t'escape him; That the *Turke*, it may be, will make him one day quit his hold, if he make an Accommodation with the *Persian*, or some *Christian* powers, that his ruine may not be so strange, as the Greatnesse to which he is arrived; and that in his Fall the wonder will not be so great, as it hath been in his Rising; In Briefe, that he cannot live allwayes; That th' Empire may passe into another House that may be Contrary to his; That may hate the *Spaniards*; That would purge *Germany* of their Garrisons, and at th' End of th' Account they shall endeavour the greatnesse of that power which in conclusion will devour them. Insomuch that th' *Italians* will be ever glad that we have a way open into their Country, not for to stay there, but to relieve them when they are assaulted, and if that little Liberty which remaind unto them be offended, they would have us love the walke, but not the stay; That we become the Rivalls but not the Masters, and that we have jealousie not for possession, but t' hinder others from taking of it; Beyond that, it must not be hoped that they favour us, or that they be not Contrary to us, and we shall labour in vaine if we labour not for them, and leave them not our Conquests. Yet we should not so easily have gained the State of *Milan* as is imagined; A number of good places would have stopped our progresse, and given Leisure to the *Spaniards* to send thither great releefs from *Flanders* and *Germany*; That if they have quitted the low Countries for a part of *Montferrat*, and exposed those faire Provinces to th' *Hollanders*, for a little Conveniency in regard of *Milan*; If th' Emperour made a shamefull peace with the King of *Denmarke* t' intend that Affaire: If he left his victories imperfect for that Cause, and plenty of forces to th' enemies of th' *Emperour* to renew the Quarrell, and to give him Trouble: what would they not have done, if the State of *Milan* had been assaulted: was it not probable that they would have set up their rest to have saved it? That they would have stirred up all th' ill humours of *France* to divert us? That our frontiers of *Champagna*, and *Burgonia* had not been safe in that warr, and instead of assaulting of them, they had, it may be, put us to the termes of defence? Insomuch that we had exposed ourselves to a present and certaine Expence for an uncertaine profit, and at a Distance; and for an affaire wherein

wherein th' Apparance of dammage which we should have run, was greater then th'hopes of gaine we could have made. And when all things should have prospered, that Wind and Tide had been for us, and that th'event of the warr had not deceived our desires nor frustrated our hopes; The fruits of the victory, and what might have been raised by our Labours had been no more at most then t' have weakened the *Spaniards* in imposing an eternall necessity of Quarrell with them, and to Consume *France* in maintaining the Conquests which should not have been ours, and t' assure to th' *Italians* the good which we should have don them. Book III

From all this I conclude, that the prudence of *Sr. the Cardinall* never appeared more eminently then in the Counsell he gave to quit th' hopes of the Conquest of *Milan*, for the Certaine reducement of *Languedoc*, and, that it appertained onely to such Eyes as his, and to an extraordinary wisdome not to suffer himselfe to be blinded with th' Apparance of the Good which fortune offered us, and t' have preserved the *King* from so specious an Ambuscado.

The Third Discourse

That one and the same Conduct in warr is not to be observed.

IT may be also observed in that valiant resolution which the *King* took for the Releefe of *Rhé*; That th' Art of making warr hath not a positive forme, and that it ought to be diversified according to the State of Occurrences. They that will commit nothing to Fortune, nor undertake any Enterprize whose event appeares not to them infallible; who labour onely to consume their enemies in temporizing; to make Benefit of their faults, and t' attend th' occasion to cast them into their nets: They I say do sometimes great things, and observe a better Conduct then they who have accustomed t' Hazard, and endeavour onely to come to stroakes; and will owe their Victories onely to their Courage, and seek dangers t' overcome with the more Glory; But as the first receive but little notable damage nor great Losses by their fault; so they faile often t' obtain great successe by their fearefullness, and to be happy by their too great wisdome. Such have been amongst the Moderne, *Prosper Colomna* who took from us the State of *Milan*, and that of *Genes*; such, *Francis* of *Rovere*, *Duke of Urbin* who was so long Generall to the *Venetians*, and whose Memory to this day is preserved with honour, and his portraites with veneration. But beyond the two others, the *Duke* of *Alva* who allwayes

Book III preferred the slow means when they were sure, to the quick that were to be suspected, and never so little dangerous; Who was a great husband of the bloud of his, though he had a very bloudy humour; who did never cast enemies into despaire, when he had taken their Courage from them; and who hath often refused advantages which fortune offered him, because he could not receive them without some danger, and that he distrusted some Ambush; Such had been also amongst us, *Th' Admirall of Coligny*, if he had been absolute over th' Armies he commanded; and if he had not governed a people, that were Indocile, because they were ill pay'd or voluntaries.

They are nevertheless some considerations to be raised in this matter, and certaine Rules to be observed.

A Prince that hath but one Army which is the sinew of his power, and all the force of his State, that hath not Money to raise another when the first is defeated; ought never t'hazard it: nor give the Command to a Commander of an hot humour, or that hath the Spirit agitated with an excessive desire of glory. The *Venetians* complain to this day of *Asuiane* and of his Courage; His conduct was fatall for being so bold: It made them lose at one blow all their firme Land, and put them another time upon the Borders of their Ruine. And nevertheless all *Historians* agreed, that that person had done wonders under a Prince that could have hazarded much. That his vertue was worthy of the fortune of a Conquerour; and that in the journey to *Marignan* his arrivall with five hundred Horses put in disorder all the *Suisses*, and made fall in our side the Balance where the victory was hung. In the weakness wherein th' *Hollanders* found themselves, and in the small means which they had to renew their Armyes, The dead *Prince* of *Orange* hath ever been very backward to give Battell. Even that of *Newport* which he gained was not without some staine, and some shadow of Imprudency, and he hath been condemned in suffering himselfe to be forced to fight; and reduced to a Necessity, wherein there vvas to be feared more ill in losing then hope of good in obtaining the victory. But however a very few persons have been long in that profession but have committed some fault, or fell into some Misfortune. Another occasion wherein this slow Conduct is very profitable; and where a victory is to be obtained without fighting if it be possible, and to be expected without forcing it to come, is, when we have to do with heady and hot Enemies. But in that case also its necessary that they who

At the Battell of Giragdale *& that of* Vicenna.

are

are to be commanded be capable of a great Patience, Book III
that there be where withall to make them long subsist, and that the saylor of necessary provisions oblige them not to disband. It was th' Advantage the Duke of *Alva* had in the Warrs he commanded, and if *Francis the first* had brought a little lesse heat and precipitation then he did before *Pavia*, and suffered th' Imperiall Army to consume which sustained it selfe only upon th'Hopes of a Battell; He had not filled the vegeance of one of his subjects, nor compleated in the spirit of th' *Emperour*, the designe of the Universall *Monarchy*. With tumultuary Armies which are not to stay long in the Field [illegible] which do only passe and poure in and steal out quickly; Care must be had not to come to blowes: Passage must be given to them; They must be used like Torrents, which are permitted to run without resistance, and to whom no opposition is made when they swell and overflow. Such have been heretofore th' Armies of the *Suisses*, when that Nation disdained all others; and boasted never to have gone out of their Country but to suppresse th' excesse of Princes, and to defend the weake from the violence of the powerfull, and from the designes of th'Ambitious.

Other Nations have had in this matter ill opinion of ours, and believed that we were not capable of patience or order. But if the *Marshall* of *Monlue* be to be believed, and what is seen every day in *Holland*, and what of late hath been in *France* and *Italy*; Our Souldiers are capable of all things, when they are under good Commanders; and that there's no Nation that takes sooner then ours, the vices or virtues of their Commanders. However, a great Captain ought ever to be Master of his Art, and above all the formes of making Warre, without being subject to any; He ought to change them according to th' occasion, and know diverse means, and many wayes t'attain his end, and gaine the victory. By such expedients *Cæsar*, rendred himself admirable to all people, and Ages. He diversified his conduct better then any man in the World. He gave not the same forme to all his designes, nor the same countenance; Industry or Courage, Patience or force served him equally. One while he assaulted his Enemies with Retrenchments and Forts; He Laboured chiefly to take th' *Advantage* of places, and to ceize upon the most commodions *Postes*. He cut off the *Springs* of Victuals, and of all other necessaries, and forced them at last to the necessity of rendring, having taken from them the Means of retyring, and th'hope of fighting; He gained his end in that manner of *Petreius* and *Aphranius* whom he besieged

Book III sieged in the midst of a *Compagna*, and from whom he shut up so dexterously all passages, and all Avennues that being but halfe a Mile from a River, they dyed with thirst, and were overcome for want of that whose abundance is almost in all places; sometimes he overcame his Enemies by storming of them; He made them fall without Myning; His victories were infamous for flesh and bloud, and the most mercifull of all men seemed to be come into the World to decline mercy, and to have been born for the Ruine of mankind. The dead King had reduced almost to the like extremity the Prince of *Parma* at *Juetot*, and all believed infallibly, that he must dye of hunger and thirst, or render at discretion, or be defeated in giving Battell. But the designe of the King had not th' event answerable to *Cæsars*, no more then the vigilancy of his Captains was conformable to that of th'other; The *Prince of Parma* deceived them and exchanged subtilties. He fortified the place he meant to quit, for to make them believe that he would defend himself in it; and his Army had passed the River and made its retrait, before the first News came to our Army; Fatal and un-heard of Negligence for an Army that touched *Neirs*, and had invested it, and which was suspected of designe, in some of the Commanders that governed it.

Amongst the *Modern*, I see no Generall that hath surpassed *Ferrant Gonsalve*, nor any person more universall in th' Art of making Warre; I have not seen any person that commanded his forces to better purpose, or made better use of Patience. With those two Qualities he alwayes overcame us, and hath taken a Kingdome from us. He hath done us as much hurt in making us suffer, as in acting against us, and hath consumed us when he was not strong enough to defeat us. Nothing almost hath been read like to the Resolution He expresst at *Ginture*; where we had reduced him to the last paine of Misery. He was invested with our Troops; The Plague and Hunger was in his Army; He was drowned with continuall Raines, sunke in the durt, exposed to all th'injuries of a Rude Winter. In brief, he had against him th'elements and Men. And nevertheless, at length we were more a weary t'incommodate him, then he was to suffer, and destroyed us by the course we made Choice of to ruine him. But when open force was to be employed, and true Valour set a worke; who ever performed it with more Courage or judgement then he? Hath ever a more generous voyce been heard from the mouth of a Captain then the answer he made at *Cirignolle*, to him who advised him to draw back;

and

and t' abandon a *Poste* he could not maintain but with great danger; *He had rather, said he, find Death and his Grave an hundred Paces beyond it, then to lengthen his Life many years in retraiting ten Paces and turning his back to his Enemies.* And, before the Battail of *Garillan*, He answered him that would have diverted him from fighting, and giving of Battail, who presented unto him, that he was weake in respect of us, and the Match ill made betwixt his Army and ours, *That he knew of what importance that Daye's Labour was to his Master's Affairs; and that he was resolved to perish that day, or overcome.* Book III

'Tis true then, that there are Occurrences, wherein somewhat is to be submitted to Fortune: Where the lesse is to be hazarded to save the greater: And where when the Question is of the whole Affair, not onely a part of the Forces is to be hazarded, but also the Generalls of th' Army; and those precious heads which command so many other heads ought to take resolution rather to dye, than see the Victory in th' Enemies hands, and t' outlive it at their Losse. So did *Cæsar* in *Spain* at the Battell where the Children of *Pompey* were slaine, and the rest of that miserable Common-wealth finished their destruction; so did *Monsieur of Andelot*, when he defended *Orleans* against th'Army of the *Duke* of *Guise*: So did the *Prince of Parma* at the siege of *Antwerp*, after that the *Hollanders* were seized of one part of the Ditch, & that th'Engine which they made to play, had made them flye which defended it; *Th'one and th'other* run with Swords in their hands to the Danger; both were then transported; Declaring that he would dye, if it were impossible for him t'overcome, and made appeare by his action somewhat that savoured of despaire, or rather of that excesse which Philosophy attributes to the *Heroes*, and distills into the souls of extraordinary persons. Th' example of that pathetique virtue, and of that generous emotion was not barren. The Souldiers that saw it, felt the same heat, and by that means some of them forced th'Enemies from the Town where they were far entred, and others Recovered the Ditch where th' *Hollanders* began to fortifie after they were lodged in it; Lets conclude then with th'Examples of the greatest persons of Antiquity, and with the first of the Moderne, That the passage of our Army into th' Iland of *Rhé* was not projected by chance, and without th'Advice of Reason; That it hath not been th'Effect of a light, troubled by ill successe, and of a Discourse confused by ill fortune; but of a Resolution illuminated by that high prudence, which diversifieth its conduct according to the diversity of accidents which happen; which shifts sayles according t' th' nature of the Winds

Book III which Reign: Which knows t'apply Remedies to the state of the Maladies; which dares quit th' High-wayes, when'tis expedient to take the By-paths, and which guides not alwayes common virtues, but sometimes inspires, and gives birth t'Heroique Vertues.

The Fourth Discourse.

Of the Alliances of bloud which are practised amongst Princes; and whether the King was well advised when he made that Allyance with England.

I Treat at large th'Allyances of State in the second part of this work, and particularly of that we have with the *Turke*, and with the Republique of *Holland*. There I do cleer many Doubts which respect the Soul, and take away the stones of offence whereat they strike, who have not known the foundation, and stumble for want of Light. I give nevertheless nothing to conveniency that is contrary to justice, and flatter not the conduct of them who submit all other Reasons to that of State. I take nothing there, from God to give it to *Cæsar*, I hold the just Balance, and stay at the temper which God hath advised, in the prudence of Serpents and the simplicity of Doves. Here I have thought it expedient, to speak of th' Allyances, which are practised in the families of Princes, to justifie that which hath been made with *England*. All the spirits that were formalized at it, are not yet satisfied. The Wounds which are shut up leave allwayes some marks; Some maligne impression remains a long time after a poyson is driven away; and ordinarily the opinions that are left, part not so neatly, but some impression remains. On th'other side, they that have observed the sequells of th' Alliance whereof we speak; who have seen the Deprædations upon our Seas, and th' Invasions of our Ilands, and th'other enterprizes th'*English* have made upon us; Who have understood, that their Ministers of State manadged that business with poysoned hands; that they did undermine us when they seemed to help us; That they stretched the Cloath whereof they were after call'd Merchants, and laid the foundation of the War which they made against us. These I say, have believed that there was somewhat wanting in the prudence of our Ministers of State, and that th' house was ill built that fell so soon to Ruine. Wherefore having discourſed of that Warr; I thought this the proper place to speak of the Alliance which did precede it.

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ed amongst Princes serve very little to divert their designes, Book III
or to change their Inclinations. The dispositions they find in their spirits are there left; They put up nothing, but at most palliate them, and suspend for some time th' Action of the Causes which they cannot take away; And though it falls out otherwise in the Condition of particular persons, no Consequence is to be drawne for that of Princes. The Quality of *Soveraignes* which Princes sustaine, hath priviledged Duties, and begets passions to which all others are subalterne. The King in this is above Man. The Consideration of Parentage is inferiour to that of the State, and th' Obligations of blood which are bounded in a few persons ought to give place to th' obligations of the Charge, wherein an infinite of Persons are Interessed. To that truly, Princes need not to be Exhorted; They are but too much carried to it naturally; They ordinarily offend lesse against their Dignity by default, then by excesse. The love they have for it, degenerates rather into Jealousie, then into Idleness. And if you would have them forsake their interests, and the good of their affaires, It must be under the shew of [illegible] Man ought to propose to [illegible] understanding, which is [illegible] 'tis true, that of too Ex[illegible] Princes, they carry themselves oftnest to th' Excesse, and that the passion for Commanding preserves not onely what belongs to them, but makes usurpations upon all the Rights of Reason; upon all the priviledges of Humane Society, and upon all the Respects, which are brought by Relations. Th' Examples are so ordinary that a Man must have seen or heard nothing to call it in Question. I will not speak of what hath passed in the time of the *Pagans*, nor of that Ambitious *Roman* who caused her Chariot, to be drove over the Body of her *Father*, to whose kingdome her Husband ought to succeed. I passe by that which they might have done who thought, that the glory of Command was the ultimate End of Man, and Ambition somewhat a nobler and a better thing then justice. But even amongst the very *Christians*, and in th' houses which Piety hath made famous, that Passion hath been seen t' overflow to the prejudice of blood, and violate th' holiest lawes of Nature, and which the very barbarous people Reverence. I will recite here a Memorable Example. 'Tis a thing sufficiently known in the world what th' house of *Austria* was to th' Alliance of blood; and if devotion, as tis said, hath been the foundation of Greatness, 'tis well known, that Alliance hath built it up, and carried

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or to change their Inclinations. The dispositions they find in their spirits are there left; They put up nothing, but at most palliate them, and suspend for some time th' Action of the Causes which they cannot take away; And though it falls out otherwise in the Condition of particular persons, no Consequence is to be drawne for that of Princes. The Quality of *Soveraignes* which Princes sustaine, hath priviledged Duties, and begets passions to which all others are subalterne. The King in this is above Man. The Consideration of Parentage is inferiour to that of the State, and th' Obligations of blood which are bounded in a few persons ought to give place to th' obligations of the Charge, wherein an infinite of Persons are Interessed. To that truly, Princes need not to be Exhorted; They are but too much carried to it naturally; They ordinarily offend lesse against their Dignity by default, then by excesse. The love they have for it, degenerates rather into Jealousie, then into Idlenes. And if you would have them forsake their interests, and the good of their affaires, It must be under the shew of something that resembles it. And 'tis not [illegible] a Man ought to propose to himself to be [illegible] derstanding, which is by Endeavours [illegible] 'tis true, that of too Extreams which [illegible] Princes, they carry themselves oftnest to th' Excesse, and that the passion for Commanding preserves not onely what belongs to them, but makes usurpations upon all the Rights of Reason; upon all the priviledges of Humane Society, and upon all the Respects, which are brought by Relations. Th' Examples are so ordinary that a Man must have seen or heard nothing to call it in Question. I will not speak of what hath passed in the time of the *Pagans*, nor of that Ambitious *Roman* who caused her Chariot, to be drove over the Body of her *Father*, to whose kingdome her Husband ought to succeed. I passe by that which they might have done who thought, that the glory of Command was the ultimate End of Man, and Ambition somewhat a nobler and a better thing then justice. But even amongst the very *Christians*, and in th' houses which Piety hath made famous, that Passion hath been seen t' overflow to the prejudice of blood, and violate th' holiest lawes of Nature, and which the very barbarous people Reverence. I will recite here a Memorable Example. 'Tis a thing sufficiently known in the world what th' house of *Austria* was to th' Alliance of blood; and if devotion, as tis said, hath been the foundation of Greatnes, 'tis well known, that Alliance hath built it up, and carried

Book III carried it from a Moderate beginning to that high Power wherein 'tis seen, and to that vast domination for which th' Heaven hath *no Horizon*, nor th'earth Limits. *Maximilian the first* hath gained by that means the *Low Countries*, and those faire Provinces which by their fertility, and by the wealth wherewith they abound, have deserved to be called th' *Indies* of *Europe*. *Philip the first* and his posterity have obtained by it all *Spaine*, and those Countryes of the new world, where the sun in retiring from us goes to beget Gold, and those other unprofitable things whereof men are Idolaters. *Philip the second* came to the Crown of *Portugall* by that meanes; and to all those States which that Nation possessed in *Asia*, in *Afrique*, and th' *East Indies*. That very Prince thought t' incorporate *England to Spaine* by the marriage of *Mary* his first wife, that was Queen thereof. But the judgments of God in that supplanted the prudence of men, and permitted that Princesse to dye without Children, either to suppress the growth of a Power which would have been fatal to the Liberty of *Christian* Nations, or for the punishment of the Iniquities of th' *English*, [redacted]. The same *Philip* also aspired to the Crown of *France* for his Children, by reason of the Marriage of his third wife daughter of *Henry* the second; and the most important Article wherewith th' Instructions of the *Duke* of *Feria* were Charged when he came to *Paris* during the league, was, to cause the *Salique* laws to be Abolisht, and to root out from the spirit of the *French* their Aversion of having no *Soveraignes* that spin, and of not submitting to th' yoak of Women. Insomuch, that it hath been allwayes the designe of the *Spaniards*, and a premeditated prudence of the *Princes* of th' house of *Austria* to look about them, and to cast their nets upon the parties that could joyne some new estate to theirs, and under a Title so innocent and just t'extend their domination. With what heat did they labour to cause the eldest Daughter of *Lewis the twelfth* to be given to *Charles the fifth* who brought for her Dowry the *Dutchesse* of *Britanny* and of *Orleans*, and our pretentions for *Italy*? How many propositions were made upon that foundation, and how many treaties concluded, which the Time hath made abortive, and which Fortune laughed at; Nevertheless as they have been ever Industrious to draw to them as much as they could, th'estates of their Neighbours, They have been also carefull, not to permit any of theirs

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to be alienated, nor to suffer any division without knowing the Meanes of Consolidating it; and to destroy the divided Members, and the loose pieces. Book III

Th' Emperour Charles never promised the *Low Countryes*, or the *Duthy* of *Milan* upon the Marriage of his daughter, or of his Neece with the son of *France*, but with Intention to break his promise, or at least with hopes, that *Fortune* which had done such strange things, in his favour; that had so often given the Lye to Apparences, and disturbed th' order of things for the Love of him, and which had sometimes sent him prosperities which he desired not, would exempt him from that Obligation under some plausible pretence, as it did. And when *Philip the second* transmitted the Low *Countryes* to th' *Arch Dutchesse* for her Dowry; There's apparence that he was assured, that time would make up that Breach, and that he made not so great a wound in the rest of his Estates without preparing the Remedies to heale it. But to returne to my designe, and make it appeare, That th' Alliances of blood, work softly upon the spirits of *Princes*, and are but weake bonds t' hold their Amities; I will represent th' originall, and th' effects of that which hath been the most profitable to th' house of *Austria*, and it may be the most dammageable to the Christian Common-wealth. *Philip the son of th' Emperour Maximilian, married Joane youngest Daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, Kings of all the dominions of Spaine.* Th' Eldest was married into *Portugall* according to their Custstome. The Catholique *King* had also a son called *John* who dyed young, and whom *Spaine* saw almost as soon put out as shine, and had almost at one time the Contentment to see him come, and the Griefe to lose him; Presently after the death of that *Prince*, th' Arch *Duke Philip*, and Arch *Dutchesse his wife* who lived onely by the love she bare to her husband, and was Idolatresse of all his motions and passions, caused themselves to be Called Princes of all the Dominions of *Spain*, to the prejudice of the Queen of *Portugall*, to whom the Crownes did belong in priority of birth to her sister. That attempt ill digested & out of season, and that precipitated Ambition, displeased Infinitely *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, who judged of the Tree by the fruits, and gave their son in Law and daughter t' understood, that they were to leave that borrowed Title, and to put off that imaginary Quality, and which did not belong to them. Behold a very pleasant Beginning of *Philips* Ambition, since it made Invasions upon its owne Relations, and the first shew of that furious Appetite to reigne which hath vexed his Posterity; After that he guided his Interests apart from them of his Father in Law;

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Book III He held him alwayes at distance, he looked upon him only as a Prince which stood in his light, and there was no other Communication amongst them but a continuall Commerce of Complaints and disorders; In a Treaty which *Maximilian* and he, made at *Blois* with *Lewis the twelfth*, being permitted t' either parties, to Comprehend therein whom they would, He made no more mention of *Ferdinand*, then as if he had not related to him, or that He had been indifferent to him. He did also the same thing in another Treaty which his *Father* made at *Hugano* with the *Cardinal* of *Ambois*; so *Ferdinand* had his Revenge in disavowing the Treaty his son in Law made at *Blois* with *Lewis the twelfth* for the kingdome of *Naples*, and in Contracting a second Marriage, and marying of *Germania* sister of *Gaston* of *Foix*, and Neece of *Lewis*, with Conditions that were Advantageous to us, if they had been observed. That which I have said nevertheless was nothing in respect of what *Philip* did, since the death of *Isabella*, and after that the succession of *Castille* was open unto him. The things past were but sweetnesses for *Ferdinand* in Comparison of th' usage he received after that death. The first stroakes did scarce raise the skin, but the last entered deep and made Large and dangerous wounds. *Philip* will go into *Spaine* not onely to take possession of what was his, but to take from his Father in *Law* what belonged to him by the Testament of *Isabella*. *Ferdinand* employed all his Prudence, and all his subtilties to divert him. They Contest long upon that Article. Their wills were diametrically opposed; what th'one would not have th' other desired, and it had been lesse difficult t' accord Contraryes, and to joyne extreams, then t' adjust their pretentions. Force being wanting to *Ferdinand* t' overcome th' heat of *Philip*, He used diversion; He caused *Lewis the twelfth* t' interpose who threatens him with his Armyes, in case he went for *Spaine*, and raised the *Duke* of *Gueldiers* against him who cut him out busines in *Flaunders*, and gave him enough t' entertaine him in that Countrey.

In th' End, th' obstinacy of *Philip* being stronger then th' Artifices of *Ferdinand*, and the difficulties which stopped him being taken away or sweetned, they agreed upon the Conditions of his journey. Thereupon *Philip* put himselfe on the way, but with a resolution to break the Treaty he had made, and not performe th' Oath he had given to his Father in Law, which he ought to have kept to an Enemy. Being in *Spaine* he flatters the great Persons; He unties them from *Ferdinand*; He drawes them to his party, who had but too great Inclinations for it, and were but too earnestly carri-

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ed t' adore the rising Power, and a Light which began to shew it selfe; Insomuch, that *Ferdinand* found himselfe alone: All his friends were unfaithfull to him; all his Creatures abandoned him except th' *Arch-Bishop* of *Toledo Ximenes*, and the *Duke* of *Alva*: so true it is, that there's but little Assurance in the will of Men, and that the Law of Interests is powerfull upon their spirits; and the Memory of Good turnes received, weake in Comparison of future Benefits. Book III

After that, *Ferdinand* presseth an Interview with his son in Law; The Counsellours of *Philip* oppose it with all their powers, and raise troublesome difficulties to divert it; They had seized upon the spirits of their Master, and taken his will from him having prepossessed his understanding. They were afraid, that *Ferdinand* would take off the Charme, and that the Reverence of a Father, and dexterity of a Great *Polititian* would deface that usurped Empire, and tyrannous Domination: wherefore they omit nothing that might distate *Ferdinand* from the meeting he solicited, and which he pressed for the Resistance; They propose exorbitant Conditions, which he accepts of; They add shamefull Circumstances which he refused not; They use him unworthily and he bears it; and a Great *King* had the displeasure to receive the Law from petty Companions, who abused th' Inclination of an easy Master.

At last th' Interview being resolved, *Ferdinand* renders himselfe at the place appointed for that purpose, but with a small traine, and accompanied onely with two hundred Men unarmed, and mounted upon Mules. On the Contrary, *Philip* advanceth thither, in th' Equipage of a Man of warr, with the Body of an army of *Dutch*, which Marched before him, and flanked with almost all the Great Persons of *Spaine* in armes, and in the posture of persons who went rather to Warr, then to a Treaty of friendship, and to a fight rather then to a Reconciliation. The two Princes met together in a Chappell, which had been Chosen for that Interview; *Don John Manuell, principall Counsellour of Philip*, and absolute disposer of his resolutions would assist at their discourse, and but for th' *Arch Bishop* of *Toledo*, who hindred him, He had been present at a Conference, which the Respect of proximity and the Dignity of those Two *Princes*, would have to be secret.

After an hower and halfes discourse they part, and the Conference passed without any mention made by *Philip* to the *Father* of his daughter, nor of *Ferdinand* to his son in Law of his wife. He dissembled for that time his desire, though he had an extreame passion to see her, and to Comfort his old

Book III old age by the sight of an Object which was so deere to him, and which was the Remainder of his Vertues.

There was a second Meeting betwixt these two *Princes*, wherein some demonstration of friendship appeared, or lesse coldness then at the first Interview; But the Conclusion of all the Conferences was the first designe of *Philip*, that *Ferdinand* should renounce the Government of *Castile*, notwithstanding the disposition of *Isabella*, and against the expresse Clauses of her Testament. *Ferdinand*, who had learnt t' obey the time and submit to Necessity; who knew how to strike saile when the Tempest was too strong; and to put in when it was not safe to saile; Bends under his ill *Fortune*, and resolves t' abandon *Castille* till a better season called it back, and to banish himselfe voluntarily from a kingdome which he had so long Commanded; *Philip* stops not there, He endeavours all he can to discredit the past Government, He annulls the greatest part of th' Orders his *Father* in *Law* had made; He deposeth the principall officers, and the principall Governours, which had been placed by his Hand. He would not, if possible, that one entire mark should remain, nor one visible Impression of his Administration. But it had been too little for him to have ill used his *Father* in *Law*, and his Ambition, it may be, had been pardonable; if it had at least pardoned his wife, and if he had not used her ill who had brought him so faire States, and such certaine Hopes. She was truly the Queen of *Spaine*, and who infused into her Husband, th' Authority of Government, and the Right of Commanding that Country. And nevertheless He would not suffer her in that society; He would not permit, that she who was Companion of his Bed, should be the Companion of the Scepter which he had received from her hands; and seeks shamefull pretences and odious Causes t' exclude her. A warmer love was never seen, than what that *Princesse* had for her Husband; It seemed, that she lived onely by the sight of him, and dyed when she was severed from him. That Excesse of passion and Imbecillity of soul changed in some sort her senses; and the jealousie which mingled with the troubles of his Absence, weakened a little her Braine, and changed th' Organs; and nevertheless though that defect proceeded from so honest a Cause, or so supportable; Though Compassion ought to have obliged *Philip* to cover it, if Love were wanting to do it; and though Conveniency and his honour obliged him also to that duty, when he had neither Compassion nor love; He will nevertheless that that accident be the foundation of his designe, to seize upon all th' authority and to Reigne alone. He will have his wife to be

be entirely troubled of her senses, though she was onely a little weake; He will, that she hath lost all her Reason, though she had onely diminished it; That there was no Light at all, when there was onely a Mist; and that she was in a totall inability to governe, though there remained in her enough of good sense t' act; For that effect, and the better t' hide his Game, he keeps her shut up, and permits not any person to see her of them that durst speake to her of the State of her disease. A strange proceeding, to take away her Liberty, after he had taken away her Honour! and not to leave th' use of the first good of naturall life after he had ruined th' Ornament of the Civil; The *Father* durst not open his mouth to him of it, in the first Conference they had together, and chose rather to suppresse his Inclination, then to sharpen more that spirit, which was but too sharp; and to touch him in a place where he was so sensible, as I have above observed. In the second Meeting, *Philip* obtained of him a secret Declaration by the which he consented, *Philip* he alone should have th' administration of State, by reason of th' Inability of his daughter, though after he made a publique protestation, That his *son in Law* had forced from him that Declaration, and that he gave way onely to the Malice of the time, and to the violence of the stronger, according to the Maxime of wise Men. *Philip* staid not there, after that *Ferdinand* was retired into *Arragon*, He would oblige the *Grandies* of *Spaine* to subscribe an Act, which he had caused to be drawne, of the weakenes of the senses wherein the *Queene* was fallen. But therein he found Resistance. Th' *Admirall* of *Castille* opposeth it generously, after he had visited that *Princesse*, and discovered that the disposition of her Understanding was not entirely spoiled; Represented unto him, th' Inconveniencies that would arise from that Enterprize; The noise it would make in the world, and th' ill humours it would raise in *Spaine*, where the people love their Masters naturally, because of the Roialty they exercise, and reverence that Character in every person in whom 'tis Imprinted. Book III

At last, to give the world the finall Example of ingratitude, and an Eminent evidence of the power of Jealousie, to reigne without a companion when it hath taken possession of the soul; He would cause his wife to be declared troubled in her senses in full assembly of the States, and by Consequence unable to governe, which he could not obtaine. There was his acknowledgment of th' incomparable fidelity of that *Princesse*, and the paiment of the most violent and durable love, that ever wife bare to a Husband. Therein

Book III was his recompence of that eternall passion which possesse her during the Life of *Phillip* to the change of his spirit; which could not be abated by his Death, and time that overcomes what is most firme in the World, and most opiniated, could never diminish. For 'tis true, that after the Death of *Phillip* which was precipitated, & which cropt him in the Flower of his *Age*, & with some suspition of poyson, she never forsook the body, she caused his Coffine very day to be opened; she took it with her when she travelled, and accomplished what had been propheſied by an Old Woman of *Spain*, who had said, seeing th'entry of *Phillip* into that Kingdom, and that proud Magnificence wherewith he took possession, *That he would walke there longer after his death, then during his life.* At last, after his body was laid in a Chappell of *Granada* in the *Sepulchre* of the *Kings* of *Castille*, she made her constant stay in that City, and powred out into Tears and Groans the rest of her Life, upon the Ashes of him, whom she had loved with so great Heat, and upon the Ruines of a body which she had Idolized.

To what end serves then th'Alliances of bloud, which are made amongst Princes? and since they have been instituted t'unite in friendship diverse families, and t'extend them the more, and enlarge that virtue which is one of the Principles of the civill Life, and one of the bonds of humain society; what use are they of in the condition of *Soveraigns?* They may serve much, and are not unprofitable; provided that they come not in competition with th'Interests of State, and with that invincible jealousie which Princes have for the good of their Affairs. The treaties where they intervene, are made with more reputation and dignity, They are pretious pretences to lay down Armes, which two Princes are a weary to bear; they are honest doores to let out warrs, from which otherwise they cannot retire with honour, and which they cannot Continue without dammage. And there's no resentment so just which they may not safely submit to the Consideration of the Parentage into which they enter, and of that sacred bond which is instituted to conjoyne what is divided, and t'unite the wills which are disunited. *Francis the first* recovered his liberty with more honour by Marrying the sister of *Charles th' Emperour*, and he made appeare to the World th' Esteeme he gave to his Prisoner, in seeking his Alliance. The peace of *Soissons* which followed a warr wherein the same Princes did run two great though different *Fortunes*; Th' one to lose a part of his States, and th' other of his Reputation in retiring; Had for foundation the Marriage that staid it; and which was not accomplished betwixt

Charls

Charles third son of France, and one of the Daughters of th' Emperour, or one of his Neeces. The peace of the Castle of *Cambrey* which was so pernicious to *France*; which took from us in one day, what we gained in Forty yeares, which being th' End of our forraigne warrs, was, it may, be the Beginning of Civill warrs; Comprehended the Marriage of *Elizabeth, Daughter of Henry th' second, with Philip the second King of Spaine.* Book III

The daughters which enter into *Soveraigne* Houses may also do much for th' Interests of them from whence they come, when they seize upon the spirits of their Husbands, and gaine th' Ascendent upon their Wills which sometimes happens. That subtile *Portugese* which Married *Charles the third Duke* of *Savoy*, did what she would with him; in the differences of *Francis the second, and Charles the fifth.* And in that famous dissention whereof *Piedmont* was so long the *Theater*, she turned Her nephew of th' *Emperours* side, though the good of his affaires obliged him, to be of our side, and made him take the most disadvantagious part in a warr, wherein he had even done himselfe wrong if he had stood a Neutrall. That *Lacedemonian* understood it better, and her Conduct was more judicious though it may be not just enough. Her father and Husband were *Entred* into a Quarrell, and laboured with great Obstinacy the Ruine of one Another.

In that hard Accesse, and cruell Conjuncture, wherein she could not gaine without losse; she proposed to herselfe to follow alwayes the fortune of the weakest, to make the Counterpoise to the strongest, and to dispose them to Reconciliation, when both despaired of the victory, which succeeded unto her. Alliances are also good to preserve union, and nourish th' Intelligence of Houses which otherwise are obliged to be of good understanding, and which a Common interest doth conjoyne and bind. Insomuch that if they make not the knot, they tye it faster; If they forme not the friendship, they heat it; if they do not introduce the concord, they confirme it; Tis for that reason they are so frequent amongst the Princes of th' House of *Austria*, and were heretofore betwixt them of *France and Navarre*, and betwixt them of *Castille* and *Portugall*, before th' union of those Crowns. But what must be understood of most certain from Alliances, and to which Princes who make them, and their Counsellors, ought chiefly to have an eye; is, to draw some present utility, or some future good, whilst the Wills of them who are conjoyned in Alliance, are in heat, and th' emotion which that Bond brings doth last. *Francis the*

first

Book III *first* married *Elnor*, *Sister of Charls the fifth* to recover his Liberty, as I have said; *Phillip the second* gave his youngest Daughter to the last *Duke of Savoy* to make him seise upon the *Marquisat of Saluce*, and to cause the Gates of *Italy* to be shut against us, and to deliver *Milan*, from the jealousie which that neighbourhood gave it. *Ferdinand of Castille* Marryed *Germania*, *Neece of Lewis the twelfth*, to break the Leagues which were framed betwixt *Lewis*, *the Emperour Maximilian*, *and th' Arch Duke Phillip* to his prejudice, and to dissipate th'Intelligences of those Princes that were not favourable unto him.

In consideration whereof I say that the Alliance which the King had made with the King of *England*, ought to be placed amongst his wisest Elections in the felicities of his Reign. And that they who advised him to it could not give a sounder Counsel, and that it hath been a great honour to *Sr. the Cardinall* to have mingled his Cares with those of his Master, and his disturbances with his Master's for th'accomplishment of that worke. 'Tis not a small advantage to render ones enemies weake; and to make a power retire that is contrary to us or suspected, is a great advance; But tis the perfection of wisedom to draw to ones selfe a good that was intended for them that love us not; & to gain that which we make them lose. If we had not made haste, *Spain* who suffered that Alliance t'escape their hands, and which sometimes loseth her Advantages in seeking of them too cunningly and too great; Had, it may be, renewed it. And if that had been, is it not probable, that it had invention enough and Artifice for to keep us alwayes in Check by the means of *England*; That it had manadged at pleasure the Protestants of *France* with their hands, and had assured all his designes in making the Counterpoyse to ours with that party which was also entire; That the losses which they lately received had affrighted them more then beaten them, and that the sight of their wounds yet bloudy, and the desire of revenge rendred them irreconcilable; tis at least certaine, that it diverted the Ruine, and was opposed to its dammage.

That if *England* hath turned her Arms upon us; if it hath since quarrell'd us; and if the capricious humours of a particular person hath been the Torch of a publiqne dissention; It was a stroak which was not in the power of humain discourse to foresee, and the reason of State did not permit that a Prince should give so pernicious an example to his subjects, as openly to favour *Felony* in the states of another *Prince*; yet it may be said in truth, that the peace which ensued

ed that War, and which was so advantagious to us, is in part an effect of th'Alliance whereof we speak, and the worke of that *Princesse* which shall be hereafter th' Indissoluble band of the friendship of the two Brothers, and th' Immortall subject of the Concord of both Nations. Adde to this th' Interest of Religion which is very considerable in this *Alliance*, of the great good it produceth to have accustomed th'*English* to permit th' exercise of it in the Queen's family. Tis no small matter that they are made acquainted with our Holy Mysteries, and that they are no longer offended at that which they have had a long time in detestation; Tis to be believed, that this holy humanity which now is in safety amongst them, shall not be there without a tast of its Graces; and that th'Example of good souls to whom'tis permitted to provide for their salut without crime, may touch them, and bring them to the knowledge of that truth their fathers had forsaken. Book III

The Fifth Discourse.

Of the Greatness and Importance of the Siege of Rochelle.

I Will not play th'Oratour upon the taking of *Rochelle*, nor amuse my selfe with the Flowers of Rhetorique, and th' Ornaments of that Science which hath not significant expressions, how rich soever, for the subject which I treat. I will not exalt the glory of that siege by the Reputation of a City whose name hath passed to th' *Indies* with reputation, by the course and Merchandize it made upon all Seas. Th' Heresie and Rebellion to which it served for sanctuary in *France*; The friendship of *Protestants*, and hatred of *Catholiques* which it equally exercised; had rendred it famous in th'Earth. I speake not now of the place, nor of th'advantages of its scituation, where it seemed Nature had placed all she had of strength and Art, had laid out all she had of Invention. I passe by the comparison of the sieges of *Tire* and *Antwerp*, which others have spoken of, and which are inferiour to ours. Though one of them was the principall worke of the Prince of *Parma*, and the admiration of the past Age, and the other th' great effect of the power of *Alexander*, and th' Industry of *Greece*. I take another way and will indeavour to declare the value of the Conquests which we have made in other Ages. Heretofore nothing was more easie to a Conquerour then to subdue a Province,

Book III and the gaine of a battell delivered up a whole Countrey to the victorious : wherein there was scarce any strong place. Now that th' Art of making Warre hath changed face and conduct ; That 'tis in all Countryes almost reduced to cast up Earth and to retrench ; That few Battells are fought ; That the life of Men are better Husbanded ; and that an Army cannot March very farre, but a Fortresse is in its way ; 'Tis no marvell, if there be as much difficulty, and by consequence as much glory to take a *Fortress* of strength, as there was heretofore to gain a Province. And not to go farre from past Ages, and the memory of our *Fathers*. Have we not seen with what facility *Mahomet the second* hath taken two Empires from *Christians*, and carried from them Twelve Kingdoms ? Will it not be said, that he did runne only in conquering, and that th' exercise of a walke had been as long as the time of his Rapid Victories ? 'Tis, that, in effect, in those great *Territories* of Countrey, and extent of those vast Regions there was not a strong place but *Constantinople*. And yet that place was lost rather by the Cowardise of *Christians*, and in the fury of the justice of God, than by the valour of the *Turks*, and industry of the besiegers. *Selin* the first had only the *Mammelus* to defeat in the Field to be Master of all *Ægypt* and *Syria*, and the progresse which the *Grand Seignors* made heretofore in *Persia*, and the facility they found to possesse that Land, proceeded from that they encountered not one strong Town that stopped them and hindred the Inundation of those Monstrous Armies which they brought thither. On the Contrary, who doubts but that the conquest of *Rhodes*, was not more honourable to *Soliman*, then that of th' Empire of *Trobisonde* to *Mahomet* ; Who makes Question that *Strigonia*, *Buda*, *Alba Royall*, and *Zigbet* were not more eminent peeces and more famous Monuments for the glory of that Prince, then a dozen Kingdoms for the other's glory ? And if he could have added *Malta* and joyned *Vienna* to his other victories, the past Ages had not seen fairer Trophies then his, and he might have marched in Front with *Alexander*, *Cæsar*, and *Tamerlan*, though he had not run over so many Nations as they had done, nor invaded so great a number of Countries.

To give some new Light to my subject, and some extraordinary colours, I will propose also that noble difficulty which some have written of. To wit, Which of the two Actions is most noble, and meritorious, either the gaine of Battell, or the Taking of a strong place ; without staying upon that which hath been said upon this subject. It seems to me, that

that the last of these Actions requires a more profound and more generall abilitie; That it exerciseth more vertues; and by Consequence there's more honour in taking a Fortresse well defended, then to win a Battell though it be well Contested. The reason is, that in a siege Men must fight above th' Earth, and in th' Earth. The strength of the place is to be overcome, and the Resistance of men. Fresh enemies are to be encountered, which are Concealed and do expect. Men are exposed to th' Artifices of fire, and to those horrible Inventions which with death bring the torments of Hell, and paines that are not naturall; Long labours are to be endured, Continuall watching, and all th' Injuries of time. Book III

Briefly, Industry works more there then force, and fortune acts lesse there then virtue; That happens not in a Battell, where Men fight onely above Ground and against Men; where all things are almost equall on both sides; where Men are not consumed by Languishments, and Travell; and where four howers decides the business; where Impetuosity doth act sometimes more then Conduct, and valour gives not so much the victory as extravagancy of fortune, as a command ill understood of th' Enemies side, as an unexpected Accident, and as a *Pannique* Terrour.

But to decide this doubt with a more exact and certaine Policy; I say, that those Meanes are more noble and Estimable which produce th' End that is proposed, and brings a Man to the Mark he Aimes at; than they that leave a Man in the Middle of the way, be they never so glittering, and what shew soever they make. And therefore if the gaine of a Battell were the Conquest of a *Province*, as it heretofore hapned, and the taking of a Towne the reducement of a single place, as it falls out for the most part; There's no Question but the second Action is inferiour to the first, and of an Inferiour Merit to that of th' other. But when after the gaine of a Battell th' enemie continues strong, where there are other armyes to fight, and a number of good places which stop the Conquerour, and put a Bridle to the victory; Who doubts, but the gaine of that Battell is lesse Considerable then the taking of a City, which is th' head of a whole Countrey, or of a whole party; which will bring in all the rest to th' obedience of the victorious; and after that no Resistance to be made but what shall be weake and rash. Who doubts that *Scipio* did not more in subduing *Carthage*, and making the Rivall of *Rome* the Subject of *Rome*; than *Hanibal* did in the three Battells wherein he Conquered the *Roman*; since *Rome* subsisted for all that, and that

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Book III the spring of the warr remained unstopt. And therefore who can also doubt, that the reducement of *Rochell*, after the losse whereof we have seen a party fall, which had so long a share in *France*, and divided the *Soveraigne* authority; which had offered so many affronts to our *Kings*; which had so often opened our parts, and our frontiers to th' Enemies of the State, and made the Country of their Birth, a Country of Conquest; who can I say doubt, that the taking thereof is not to be preferred before four Battails, which have been gained against it; because they left life and force to recover; since that all-bloudy and coverd with wounds, it was formidable unto them that had put it into that Condition; since after that, it gave the law to the victorious, and forced a peace of as much advantage, as could have been expected from a victory. That consideration obliged th' *Holy Father* t' answer *Cardinal Borgia* who had represented unto him, that he had not made the like demonstration of joy for the taking of *Breda*, which he had done for the taking of *Rochell*; *The Taking of Breda was no more then the taking of a Towne whereof th' Hollanders had their Revenge a little after.* But the Taking of *Rochell*, was beating downe th'head of a *body* and *overthrowing* the foundations of a Building.

The Sixth Discourse.

Of the Instructions may be drawn from the siege of Rochell; and from what the King did after the Reduction of that Towne.

After the precedent Considerations, lets see what may be observed in that siege which serves for my principall designe, and for th'Instructions of the *Publique*. 'Tis not *Hannibal* alone that knew how t' overcome, and knew not how t' use the victory. The like faults are encountered in all ages, and the cause why sometimes Men are not happy enough, is because Men are not alwayes wise enough. Fortune alone may very well begin the greatnesse of a Man, but she cannot finish it, without virtue. And though it be not in the power of expert Pilots to make the winds propitious; It depends nevertheless upon their Industry to make good use of them, and to husband them well while they last; Of them then who give over at the first successes they obtaine, and stop at th' Entry of their prosperity; some of them are astonished at their happinesse, and insomuch that they have been forced into th' Haven, and that they did not bring themselves thither; They dare not any more put forth to Sea. They content themselves with what they have gained.

They

They will not put their Reputation to Reference, and re- Book III
semble certaine persons who having leapt over by night, or in th' excesse of a passion, a very large ditch or some very dangerous passage, are ravished with what they had done upon sight thereof by day, or that their souls are sunk, and are not bold enough t' attempt the same Action, after the consideration of it; Others will taste of the good which is hapned to them and rejoyce in the victory, and consider not that in that time, th'Occasions steale away from them, fortune retires, and th' Enemies gather strength which hinders them to march on. There are some, that decline not to do well so much by distrust of their virtue, or by the weakenesse of their Courage, as for feare of Envy; and had rather possesse in peace a Moderate reputation, than provoke that maligne passion which causeth us to be more afflicted for the good of others, then for our owne ills; and that even friends cannot behold the glory of their friends, if it be very high, nor suffer their Brightnesse if it be very lively. Th' examples of what I have said are but too ordinary. The *Grecians* have very often committed such faults; and 'tis certaine that the Batteli of *Salamina* opened unto them the dore for the Ruine of *Persia*, and for the Conquest of *Asia*, if they had known their advantages, or if they had not been glutted with their successe. The victory of *Lepantha* brought nothing to the *Christians*, which they had not before that warr. The most famous Battell that was ever gained upon the sea was unfruitfull in their hands, all the gaine of the victorious, was, not to have been overcomed. The price of so memorable an action determined in it selfe, and gained nothing from abroad, that Crowned it, and was its Recompense. *Charles the fifth* also as Great a person as he was, forgot himselfe after the journey of *Pavia*; and if in the Consternation wherein *France* was fallen, for th' Imprisonment of their *King*, and for a stroak so little expected; He had assaulted our frontiers, He had not met with any Resistance. He had not, it may be, left Rivalls to his nephews; and had paid himselfe by his hands the ransome of his prisoner. The *King* did not handle it so after the reliefe of *Rué*, nor corrupt the fruits of that victory for want of pursuite. It was truly much to have performed an action which was held almost for a miracle, and to gaine an end of what was esteemed Impossible. It was much to have revenged so many affronts th' *English* had heretofore done us, and purged the shame of the losses of *Creci* & of *Poitiers* after two ages. But it had not been enough for the *King* if he stayed there, and though th' Effect was great, It was not reasonable for a *Prince* to retire whose

Book III forces were strong, & to whom so much remained to be done.

The second Consideration, and which is a necessary sequel of the first; is th' Incounter of the time the *King* made choice of, very seasonable for that siege. The choice it may be of the time, is the greatest secret in Affaires, and most powerfull Meanes to make them prosper. *Cæsar* did supremely possesse it, and it was one of the words of *Charles the fifth* and of *Philip* his son, *I and the Time to Two others*. These words may admit of too Interpretations; *Th' one* is to know, how t' order a man selfe in the time of ill fortune; To strike saile when the Tempest is too strong; not t' oppose ones selfe to the violence of a destiny provoked. T' avoid the stroakes with dexterity which cannot be resisted in a streight line; To put them by, to cast our selves on Quarter, and t' observe th' occasion of some favourable Revolution, and of a better adventure. *Charles the fifth* gives that Counsell to his son in th' instruction he left him, and the *Spaniards* have been accustomed to make better use of it then any people in the world. He practised it at the peace of *Passo*, which had been shamefull to th' *Empire* if the Necessity had not rather made it, then th' Inclination of th' *Emperour*. He practised it at the peace of *Soissons*, where the want of money interrupted the prosperity of his armes, and he was constrained to offer himself for Hostage to the *Germans*, who without that had a designe to seize upon him; The *Spaniards* practised it also some two yeares since at the peace of *Suza*, and they diverted in flying, the storme, which did threaten them, and restrained the Thunder which was ready to fall on them, if they had not humbled themselves. The Truce which we made the last yeare at *Carignan*, when the plague defected our armies, and that the warr was the least of the Flailes of th' anger of God, was a stroake of that addresse, and gave us meanes to prepare for the Relieve of *Casal*, and to save *Italy*.

Th' *other* Interpretation, is, to know how to make choice of the best time to make an Enterprize. For 'tis true, there's a certaine Moment in time, and a certaine Encounter of causes in affaires, which being passed they returne no more together, and 'tis to no purpose t' attend th' Effect, when the Causes cease. Th' *Italians* have called it very aptly *Conjuncture*, but it was not possible to find a more favourable then that under which the siege of *Rochell* was formed. That towne was almost without a Garrison, th' *English* had emptied it of Victualls. *Holland* durst not send it but a desavoured Releese, and by Consequent weake. *England* which we had so ill handled, could not send any but fearefull persons, and the Rebells were reduced t' expect more from th'

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Elements then from Men, and from our Impatience then from their Force. The third Consideration is th' Enterprize of the *Ditch*, and th' Acceptation of the proposition which was then made; It must be Confessed, that there was use of an extraordinary virtue for a worke without Example, and there was not lesse need of Light and understanding to Comprehend the possibility, then of fire and Courage to propose the Means of reducing it in Act, and t'overcome the difficulties which were not ordinary; *Tyre* and *Antwerpe* have nothing seen of like, whatsoever is said, unlesse, it may be, they will Compare the *Mediterranean* Sea with th' Ocean, and a straight and quiet Channell with a Channell extreamly Agitated, and unmeasurably Large. Book III

In the Matter of these novelties, There are that doe generally reject all of them, by reason of the vanity that is found in many, and who had rather beleeve nothing then expose themselves to the shame of being too Credulous. Tis to have too little Judgment, or too great a distrust of ones selfes; and in th' Affaires of the world, Th' universall Maximes are not ever to be followed which are sometimes deceitfull, though they are many times true. But a great Minister of State ought to know how to distinguish what is manifestly false, from what hath some apparence of true, and what is feasable from what is Impossible. 'Tis not that 'tis necessary that He possesse all th' Arts with the same perfection, as they who make profession but of one; But it sufficeth that he know them in such a degree, and with so just a light, that he may secure himselfe, from th' Imposture though it be very subtile, and observe what is good though it be not very excellent.

The *fourth* Consideration, that th' Enterprize of the *Ditch*, is th' Evidence of an extreame vast soul, and of a Courage not distasted by Difficulties, nor wearied by Time. Th' *Humours* of the *French* are ordinarily too lively to languish after a designe. They will suddenly see th' End, or abandon it; what they carry not at the first Assault, rebukes them: The stroaks they lose, weakens them as much as those they receive; and their proper Impetuosity tyres them not lesse then the Resistance of what they Assault. But the *king* hath made it appeare in this occasion whereof I speake, that having not the vices of the *French*, he had in an Eminent degree the virtues of other Nations; and that he had a very great Boldnes t' undertake and Constancy to pursue it, and Patience to finish it; The first spoile the Sea made upon the *Ditch*, had shaken any other Courage but his, and the violence of the Equinoctialls, had daunted an Imagination

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Book III lesse firme : but He believed, that the feare which might fall into the soules of Men commonly constant , ought not to fall into his, and that it was too little for his power and fortune t' overcome Men, if he did not also resist the force of the starrs, and Elements , and what nature hath of most impetuous and rapid. There are affaires which must be abandoned so soon as they are begun either in regard of their Impossibility or that they serve for hinderance to better and more profitable designes. And 'tis true, that t' opinionate in this, is a Manifest imprudence. That the shortest follies are the best, and that the further a Man goes when he is out of the right way, the more he wanders. There are others which are infinitely important, and are but difficult ; and of them an end must be had whatsoever they cost, or perish or carry them. After that th' *Earle of Fuentes* had besieged *Cambray*, and reduced that City to the Tearms of being taken or of rendring ; *Sr. of Vie* entred with some Releefe. So soon as he was Entred, he changed all th' order of the defence, and spoiled th' Enemies by the faults they had committed in beginning the Seige. He dismounted their Cannon with his ; He made their Batteries to flye with his Mines ; He rendred unprofitable a part of their Labours, and did Incommodate them in such manner , that it was proposed in the Councell of the *Spaniards*, either to raise the siege or to begin it againe, and give it another forme. *Th' Earle* of *Fuentes* knew well th' Errour, which had been committed in the beginning ; and that the sheep wherewith he had to do were the same, but that they were governed by another Shepheard, notwithstanding that he protested that he would dye there rather then retire, and that he had rather be obstinate in overcoming the Difficulties which were there in continuing the first designe, then discover his Imprudence in quitting it , and take by that Meanes courage from the souldiers, and Reputation from his Armes. When *Cæsar* had laid downe before *Alexia* or *Vercingentorix*, it was shut up with four and twenty thousand Men to defend it. He saw come upon him four hundred thousand fighting Men which came to besiege him, and such a fearefull Cloud of Men of warr to surround him. That nevertheless did not trouble him, and in somuch that the Question was of the decision of a great Affaire, and that he would with one onely Blow affright all the body of the *Gaules*, He resolved upon a bold Charge, He did not abandon the siege and marched to meet th' Enemies which drew towards him ; He defeated them, and compelled the besieged t' yeeld, and *Vercingentorix* t' humble it selfe , and to lay its greatnesse at his feet ; which they could not preserve with all

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the force of the *Gaules*; And after that the *Spaniards* had surprized *Amiens*, The dead *King*, did he not resolve to lose himselfe or retake it; T'hazard rather all his State, then to suffer that breach to remaine open; and that it was begun in a place which discovered th' heart, and left nothing secure even to the Gates of *Paris*. This proceeding appeared at first a little strange, and seems t' hold more of Despaire then of force, and of obstinacy then Constancy. That nevertheless is not so, and that which seems to be beyond the Limits of virtue, is not ever so but by Comparison. Book III

These Limits are not fixed and immoveable. They have Many degrees according to th' abilities of them that exercise them: And th' Excesses which the *Philosophers* permit t' *Heroique* virtue, and th' extreamities wherein they suffer, shall not passe over; Are not Excesses or Extremities for her, but for th' ordinary virtues, and for the Common of Men. If they that served the *Duke* of *Aniou* in the siege of *Rochell* had had the faithfulnesse of *Sr. the Cardinall* or his prudence, if they had loved the Good of the State so well as he, and the Reputation of their Master; They had not advised him to rise at the Evening of taking of it, and to give the victory that was Ripe and ready to be gathered. They had rather imitated that *Great Captaine*, and had said as th' other did at *Garillan*, That they knew of what Importance that Enterprize was to the *King*, and that it must be gained or perish. But 'tis not of new Date; that there are people in the State which love Confusion, and who Imagine themselves to be like *Physicians* who should not be Considerable without the sins of nature, nor in honour if there were not sick persons.

The prosperities of the *King* stop not at the taking of *Rochell*; our Armes were instantly beyond the Mountaines, and *Casall* saw its deliverance at the sole noise of our passage. That unheard-of Quickness equally surprized our Allyes and enemies, and those who believed, that the Conquest we had newly made, was of the kind of those victories, which make the victor to weep; would never have imagined that without tireing or taking breath, we went to force th' *Alpes* in the midst of winter, and seek beyond the Mountaines a new harvest of glory. The Rebells of *Languedoc* immediately after saw the *King* with them, and we have seen in lesse then two Months all the places rendred or taken, and those fearefull Bastions which have consumed twenty yeares labour, and the wealth of that party, humble themselves to his powers. Tis that virtue, which the *Romans* called *Celerity*, and which we call *Quickness* wherewith *Cæsar* made him-

Book III

selfe Master in 40 dayes, of *Italy*; in 60, of *Spain*; and in lesse then three yeares of all that which *Rome* had Conquered in more then seven hundred yeares. 'Tis with that virtue, that *Gaston* of *Foix* in lesse then six weeks relieved *Bologna*; Defeated the *Venetians* at *Villa Franca*; retook *Bresse*, and gained the battell of *Ravenna*. This is to know how to make use of the victory, but in an admirable Manner. 'Tis to sayle as long as there is any wind; 'Tis to second *Fortune*; 'Tis to make use of th' *occasion*. There's glory in acting a number of great things; but tis a marvell to performe them in a little time, and to place in a small intervall, th' Actions that will honour the course of many yeares; one victory nevertheless begets another, and as a needle rub'd with th' Adamant attracts many; Prosperities tread upon th' heeles of one another, Provided that men give not over: That they are the same Chiefes that governe, and the same souldiers that act, and the same discipline that doth exercise them.

The Seaventh Discourse.

That the generall of an Army ought alwayes t' Intend th' End of an Enterprize; and that Foresight serves more then Courage t' attain it; and whether the King had Reason to make the truce, was made at Carignan.

THat a Generall of an Army propose to himselfe to go alwayes to th' End of what he shall undertake, and that he know that if a good Beginning makes halfe the work that nevertheless nothing is done, if th' end faile; and therefore let him make Choice of the most proper Meanes t' attaine it, and not them that cost most fire in th' Execution and have the most *Pompe*. They shall be in their dignity and have the price they deserve when th' End is gained. Let him not then be shaken at what the world shall say; and that he remember the Conduct of *Fabius Maximus*, who suffered the *Roman* people to wound his Reputation, and endured the bitings of that Beast with many heads, rather then quit the designe he had framed to destroy *Hanniball*, without fighting him; For at last he obtained of the same people, the Sirname of most Great which they had not given to any but him, and which they gave not to any other Captaine after him.

That he remember th' Answer the *Prince* of *Parma* made to the dead *King*, when he sent him th' offer of Battell dureing the siege of *Corbiell*; *That his Master had sent him into France to relieve Paris, and t' hinder the growth of Heresie. That if t' attaine*

taine that End he found, That the best and quickest Expedient was to give Battell, that he need not doubt, but he would give it; if not, That he would not fight at the will of his Enemies. Th' end then Crownes the work and whatsoever a Man doth of Eminent and extraordinary. If he stay in the way, all that will not produce unto him but an imperfect honour, and an Abortive of glory. What served the gaining of four Battells by our *Kings* against the protestants; to have spilt so much *French* and stranger's blood; and lay wast so many Townes and provinces for that Quarrell, since that Heresie and Rebellion have after that subsisted? Of what use were so many past Expeditions into *Italy* and into other places, since that after the faireſt Entries and th' happieſt Beginnings in the world; The victory remained to our enemies. From thence was formed that opinion which had its course amongst other people, and which latter times have belied, That nothing was to be feared from us but th' Assault and first heat. That's not to say, as some have interpreted it, That we are more then men at the beginning of Combats, and lesse then women at th' End; Thats not true; and our valour hath sometimes, a continued posture and equall pursuit, and sometimes Accesses and Remissions as well as other nations. But 'tis true, that ordinarily in the Beginning of our Enterprizes, we bring a very hot Courage, and a Resolution more then humane, but a little after we abate; we fall into languishment and defects; we have no more force nor breath. Book III

According to what I have said, the Truce which we made at *Carignan*, and which was so ill understood of the greatest part of the world deserves a particular praise; since it gave us Meanes to recruit our Troops, and to take away the Matter of the plague which made them desolate; T' assemble new forces; To prepare for a Revictualling of *Casal*, and to deliver that place which was the neareſt End of the warr, we made, and a part of the Generall. In vaine without it had we so happily begun the warr and raised the siege of *Pignerol* at the face of three Armies and of four great Captaines. In vaine with a handfull of Men should we have defeated so many enemies at *Villana*, and overcome th' obstinate Resistance of th' old Regiments of th' Empire; and in vaine should we have forced at *Carignan* redoubles of three halfe Moons, and beaten those brave *Spaniards*, whose number of fighters was known by the dead, and the Prisoners.

But as boldnesse, discipline and obedience are the virtues of souldiers; Prudence, Conduct, and constant Meditation of the Meanes which cause the victory are the virtues of Captaines,

Book III taines, and Generalls of Armies. 'Tis with these Qualities that they ought to distinguish themselves from them that are under them. These are properly the forme of their profession; They do constitute the difference. Courage, and the Contempt of death are not, to speake properly, but the body and the Matter; and ther's not so much glory for a Chief to go to blowes, t' enter upon dangers when he must, and when the occasion presseth, as there would be shame Not to do it; That would be more pardonable in a single souldier, whose wounds are the springs of poverty and misery, than in great persons to whom they are Characters of honour, and the seeds of Immortality; which give them place in History whose markes are venerable in th' eyes of a *Prince*, and in th' eyes of the people, and adorne them better then all their Ornaments and precious stones. It should be a strange thing if the most illustrious profession of the world, and the noblest of all the functions of life, which is that of Commanding Armies; should be so easie, as that there were no more to do then to run to death and to cast ones selfe into danger to make him Worthy. There would be too easie a bargaine had of eternity which it promiseth, and the *Gladiators* might more lawfully pretend to, it, then those exalted soules which prepare themselves for it with great Cares: who make the boldnesse of Reason to descend to th' heart, and who make that divine part, the principle of their Conduct, and of all their Actions.

If *Cæsar* had had but Courage in the degree he had it, and that violent heat that gathers about th' heart at the sight of danger; He had not effaced the glory of other *Romans*; many had been found to have equalled him in that thing, and *Coriolanus*, *Capitolinus*, *Marcellus*, *and Catiline* also had disputed th' Advantage with him. Courage alone had not rendered *Epaminondas* the chiefe person of *Greece*; and *Pelopidas*, and *Leonidas*, and many others, had not yeelded unto him in the Resolution of dying for their Country. *Ferrant Gonsalve* had an admirable prudence, and, as it was said of *Epaminondas*, That it was not known which of two Qualities prevailed most in him, Knowledge or Valour. For my part I make it a question whether *Epaminondas* was the greater Captaine or Counsellour, whether he was more Capable to governe an Army, or to guide a Negotiation; And more proper to subdue Men or gaine them. And to speake of ours; *Gaston* of *Foix* had Courage, and Good sense equally raised in him. He acted at least as much with the last as with th' other. The Command of th' Army of *Italy* against that of the League was given him, not as to the most Famous, but as to the most

Capable

Capable, and he did not so much sustaine the dignity of Generall by reason of the splendor of his Race, as by reason of the Merit of his person. I will give you two examples which will make it appeare, That he was truly in all senses th' Head of his army; and had a Wit superiour t' all them that obeyed him. When he went to releeve *Bologna*, he manadged that designe with so great secresy, that he was on the way before his Army doubted it, and was *in the city* before his Enemyes knew it; At the journey of *Ravenna* he alone ordered and disposed of the Battell. Of three bodies which composed it, He chose not one of them to command. He reserved onely for himselfe a Troop of voluntary Gentlemen to be free, and to charge where there should be need. I speake not of his eloquence; 'Tis sufficient to say, that it lives yet with honour in history; and hath been admired of strangers, and of them also who esteem'd us Barbarous. It must be confessed that that *Prince* at th' Age of 22 years wherein he died was a compleat Man, and that no life was so short and more glorious then his. Th' head then and the good sense are more necessary for a Generall of an Army, then Armes and impetuosity; and 'tis foresight that begets the victory, rather then courage. 'Tis study, Meditation, and conference which ought to prepare the great Person whereof I speak; and tis the Practique and Experience which finish and compleat them. For that reason, It was said of *Epaminondas*, that never man knew so much and spake so little. 'Tis not that he esteemed silence a great virtue, as some have interpreted, nor that he preferred it to speech conducted by good sense; But 'tis that, in effect, he alwayes tumbled up and down some great designe in his Braine; That he thought of raising *Thebes* of humbling *Sparta*, and of subduing the *Grecian people*, which to his time had been invincible. Book III

How excellent *Sr. the Cardinall* is in this Matter; How active and lively his Reason is; how infallible and just his providence, and how efficacious the disposition of his Conduct; Lets not amuse at words to declare it, and let's lend nothing of strange to a truth that hath no need of it; lets add nothing to th' effects, and to what hath been touched or seen but a naturall Representation; let's leave th' Artifices, and painting for moderate Beauties and for Common virtues. For this effect, I will content my selfe to speake of the second warre of *Italy*, wherein he particularly presided, and whereof he had the principall government under th' Auspicious Planets of his master; I say then, that it had been much to make a great Army subsist in *Piedmont*, if the Country had been favourable to us, if abundance had been in all

Book III places, and in a season when the passages had been easie to us. But to make it live in th' enemies Country, and where all men and all things were Contrary to us. In a season when Barrenneſſe was in *France*, and proviſions were to paſſe the Mountaines, when ſnows were at th' higheſt; It muſt be acknowledged that it belongs not to a vulgar Providence to ſtrike ſuch ſtroakes. It was to ſupply by his Wit and Conduct what was wanting to the nature of things. And the *Marquis* of *Spinola* who never thought it, ſeemed to have Reaſon to ſay, that he who had moſt proviſions would remaine victorious in that warr. He believed infallibly t' have that advantage over us, having th' Earth, and Sea for him, knowing that our Country Men are enemies t' orders, without which armies ſuffer in the midſt of abundance, and wherewith they ſubſiſt intirely in the midſt of want. He remembred that at the warr of *Genes*, th' army of the dead Conſtable was vexed with hunger though it was ſmall. Though it had *Piedmont* in its favour and made warre onely for th' Intereſts of the *Duke* of *Savoy*; But when he ſaw, that we reſiſted thoſe great incommodities; That we had found Remedies againſt thoſe evills and new Inventions to carry the proviſions; 'Tis then he confeſſed the *French* had changed their humours, or at leaſt that the ſheep were the ſame, but governed by other Shepheards. Theſe things truly are great, and have been worthy of admiration from our enemies and of them wh' admire not much but themſelves. But they are not nevertheleſſe the Maſter-peece of *Sr. the Cardinals* induſtry, nor the great effect of his prudence. The preparatives for the releeſe of *Caſal* are a peece moſt Illuſtrious and Magnificent. And as the works of the leaſt cize are more ingenious then th' other, and that 'tis more difficult for an artificer to make a work of a ſmall volume to proſper then a greater. In like manner the foreſight which operates much in little time, and in a ſhort intervall diſplayes a very large Matter; is of a price, and Conſideration more exalted then that which is acted at great leiſure, which hath a free field t' extend itſelfe, which hath no bounds to Conſtraine it, and which is not oppreſſed by the brevity of time, and by the greatneſs of its object. To raiſe thirty thouſand men in leſſe then ſix weekes; Make them March through *France* and over the Mountaines during that time; Give order for all neceſſaries; T' enable them to live, and ſubſiſt; To ſend them to a Country ſpoiled with Contagion, and into places where the plague might give feare to them, that did not feare men; againſt powerfull Enemies covered with Retrenchments and ſtrong holds; defended by a caſtell,

and

and a Town; In a time when the disgrace the *Venetians* received at *Valese*, and th' unhappy success of their Armes. The surprize of *Mantova* which had somewhat of fatall, and inimaginable. The rendring of the Town and *Castell* of *Casall*; had put all our friends into despaire, and the greatest part of the *French* into astonishment. Add to that th' Artifices used by some ill *Frenchmen* to ruine the *Kings* designes and th' honour of *France*. The traverses they raised within; which were the more dangerous that they were secret and silent, and resembled the Mines, which make them leape who march upon them without suspition or defiance. And what was most fatall and of ill augury the *Kings* sickness and the despaire of his recovery. This sad accident which might alone have troubled a weaker spirit then the *Cardinal's*, for th' unhappy State of our affaires, and of our Allyes; and for the revolution it had caused in the generall order of the World, and in his particular fortune. That this black Conjunction and so many Inconveniences linked together did not disturbe his judgment nor abate his action. That the necessary provisions for the Releefe of *Casall* were provided. That *Casall* was relieved; If th' unhappinesse of this time permitted me to speak a bold truth, and if his modesty of whom I speak would not be offended, I would say that since *Cæsar's* time the world hath not seen a stronger Conduct, more resolute or wiser; and if that had hapned in the time of the Common-wealth of *Rome* or of old *Greece*, that it had been one of the faireſt Monuments of their History, and one of the most famous Instances of their policy. Book III

I will not conceale a very remarkable Condition in the Conduct of *Sr. the Cardinal* 'Tis that he prepares alwayes, if he be not hindered, meanes which seem immeasurable and too powerfull to produce th'End which he proposeth t' himselfe. 'Tis properly t'employ Excesses under defect. 'Tis to part very early not to faile the arrivall at the journeyes end. 'Tis t' have a remainder, t' avoid having too little 'Tis not t' act singly, but infallibly. 'Tis in a word the Country Custome of th' ordinary humour of the *French*. To whom th' heat of temper and vivacity of imagination alwayes represent th' Enterprizes more easie and of lesse durance they they are in effect. Moreover the preparations they make are ever lesse and weaker then the nature of th' Enterprize requires, according also to the proportions they have imagined, and according to the Measure of their apprehension. Wherefore they are constrained to retire in the midst of their Course, and all things faile them, when they have most need, and in the strength of th'Affaire.

This

Book III This indiscreet proceeding and tumultuary fashion of acting hath been cause of infinite evils which have vexed *France*. That they have often stirred ill humours which were left behind without purging of them away; that so many faire Beginnings we have had in the warrs, had not answerable ends; And in a word, that we have not known to conserve th'advantages we had gained, nor keep the Conquests which we had made. *Sr. the Cardinal* carried himself in another manner and kept another way, when it was necessay t' force th' *Alpes*, and to break the *Barricado's*, which opposed the safety of *Casal* and the liberty of *Italy*; He advised the *King* to march thither with an army, capable to subdue all *Italy*, and to passe from *Suza* to *Ofrante*. So truly the Reputation of those great forces, did impart th'effect which we aimed at: It acted farr off, and all alone it began t' overcome so soon as it began to march; and the *Spaniards* who it may be had marched to meet us, and had disputed all the passages with us, if we had been weak; durst not attend us in their trenches of *Casal*, and did not believe that there was safety for them in the *Castle* of *Milan* but by a treaty of peace. This served to pull up by the roots the Rebellion of *Languedoc* and to lay flat a Party, which had long Rooting in this Province; six armies were seen at one instant to be drawn out against them; and that division of Forces which took away the springs of Reliefe, and Communication to the rebell-townes. In short the *Cardinal* knew that the first Maxime of warr is, *That who layes out most, layes out least*. That the petty frugalities which are made out of time, are certaine losses of what is advanced; that 'tis not to sow with hope to gather, but not to seem to do nothing; and that they who give such covetous Counsells in necessary occasions, seek not so much the good of th' affaires of their Master, as not to lose the matter of doing their owne businesse.

The End.

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FINIS.

THE SECOND PART OF THE MINISTER OF STATE.

Written by Monsieur de SILHON,

Secretary to the late

Cardinal RICHELIEU.

Englished by *H. H.*

LONDON,

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THE SECOND PART
OF THE
MINISTER
OF
STATE.

TO THE

READER.

READER, *I give thee here the second part of the Minister of State, which long since I promised thee, and Confess it unjust to make thee Languish so long in expectation of so little a thing, and that thy good reception of the first parts deserved better Expedition, and to supply that by Promptitude of Labour which Could not be paid by th' Excellency of the Work; but that which Caused the delay and suspension of the performance of my promise, Was the Condition of the Time and the present State of* Europe, *Having proposed unto my self not only to speak of it, but to make it the Foundation and Basis of my Reasonings; In th' Execution of this Design many Impediments delayed me, as a person that had nothing, but Moveable dust to build upon; And the frequent and unexpected Revolutions, which the War hath perpetually produced have often taken the prospects from me, which I had taken, and made the Foot to slide, which was Advanced towards my work. But to perform my promise at last, I have Leapt over these ill paces, and have stollen betwixt these Rocks, to gain the place, where I would Land, and where I was expected by the too favourable and too obliging desires of many persons; And I have made th' Ill fortune of the Times and the Condition of Affairs to be subservient to my designs, and am entred upon a Cariere, the War hath laid open unto me with Conveniency, and which Peace will shut up at its Coming in by disarming spirits of sharpness, and in blunting the points of Pens as of Armes; I could have heartily desired that th' Ambition of our Enemies, had been less Immoderate, and that th' Attempts and Invasions they have made upon th' Estates and Liberties of our Allyes had not tyred the Kings Patience nor Constrained that Generous Prince to take into his Protection and secure by his Arms them, whom he could not defend by his Intercessions, and good Endeavours; However, since the Lot is Cast, and that Justice hath drawn the Sword to revenge th' Injury which Reason nor Intercession could cause to be repaired, I thought, my course of life not permitting me to serve the King in his Armies, that I ought to serve him some other way, and that there are Means t' Incommodate his Enemies without using of Violence; That th' House of* Austria *being the great Adversary the King hath in hand, resolving to raise the Greatness of their Ambition upon two Engines, Force, and Artifice, and this last, though the most immaterial, removing sometimes Burdens, and sometimes overthrowing great Weights, which by force were Immoveable; I did conceive, that I should not perform a Small Act, if I could render it less profitable or less powerfull; And cure the spirits of other Princes, and the spirits of their Subjects, of the multitude of Errors wherewith that House hath prepossessed them to its Advantage; And break the Chain that holds them Prisoners to the great prejudice of the Christian Common-Wealth. I believed, that the Kings good Genius, for that purpose might inspire my Writings with the same Vertue and Success, which heretofore th' Eloquent Discourse of* Sir *of* Langey *had in changing the Belief and th' Inclinations of a part of* Germany, *when* Charls *the fifth had made such Malignant Impressions against his Master, that with great Difficulty he obtained Audience of any person. We are not altogether*

in that Diſtreſs, and the Corruption of Reſentments, is not ſo general, as it was in that Countrey; There are neverthleſs many Enchantments both there and in other places, and darkneſſes to diſſipate, which are favourable to th' Houſe of Auſtria, *and this is my preſent Work, according to the Little Underſtanding God hath given me, and the little Knowledge gained in the Matters of the world; The manner of Aſſaulting this Houſe, (which I do otherwiſe reverence with Exceptions to the Kings and my Countries Intereſt) cannot be gentler, unleſs it were too light; And I blend ſo much Courteſie with the War I make it, that I doubt not but many will Accuſe me of too much Moderation, conſidering Chiefly th' Impudency and Venome of ſo many Libels, which his Creatures have Cauſed to flye from all parts againſt the King and his Miniſters of State; But Imitation is not a valuable Excuſe for ill proceedings, and every ſort of Revenge is not decent for honeſt perſons. The praiſes I give, to the good Qualities of the Princes of that Houſe, and to the Commendable part in the form of their Government, which I do not Conceal, make it ſufficiently appear, That nothing but the Truth and th' Intereſt of the publique have forced me to diſcover the Defects, which are of Importance for the publique to know, and whereof it were to be wiſht that theſe Princes were exempt for the peace of the World, and for their peculiar Acquieſcence. It were, I ſay, to be wiſhed, that theſe Princes had not ſtaid till other Princes had put bounds to their Ambition, and t' Attain their propoſed Ends, had not made uſe of all ſorts of Means. That if they are notwithſtanding ill ſatisfied with me, and take an ill Conceit againſt my Book, I ſhall not think it ſtrange, knowing very well, that Wounds cannot be handled without giving Pain, nor ſome Truths publiſhed without gaining of Hatred.*

As 'tis then with ſome Trouble, that I do undraw the Curtain, wherewith th' Houſe of Auſtria *diſguiſeth their Defaults, and diſcover the Playſter, wherewith it hideth her Spots; I avow alſo, that 'tis with an unſpeakable Joy, that I have endeavoured to repreſent the Kings Conduct altogether contrary to theirs; That 'tis with an Incredible ſatisfaction, that I do render th' Homage, and pay the Tribute to his Perſon, which are due of natural Right to his Excellent Vertues; And that 'tis no ſmall Content to Conceive, that this Eſſay made for his ſervice proceeds rather from my Choyce and Zeal for his Glory, than from any preciſe Duty required by Subjection. Th' Actions of this Princes Life, are ſo many Wonders, on what ſide ſoever you regard them; And who can propoſe to himſelf a more agreeable object than that of his Reign, where Vertue and Fortune ſeem to diſpute to Emulation for production of the faireſt Effects; for proviſion of the greateſt Recompences for the higheſt Merit; for the publiſhing of it to the moſt advantage; to whom th' honour of th' higheſt Enterprizes ſhall be given, and to whom ſhall be attributed the moſt happy and higheſt Events, This is not all; This Reign, which in its ſelf is ſo admirable, and from whoſe form Iſſues ſo many Lights, as are proper for it, receives yet a greater Luſtre and new Occaſions of Admiration from th' Oppoſition made to his Reign by our Neighbours, and by the Parallel of their Affairs with ours. I will not therefore enlarge or trouble my ſelf to prove, what is not conteſted, and which in a ſhort time may be better known; when the Clouds the War of neceſſity Interpoſeth to our felicities are diſperſed, It will appear more Entire, and with that abundance of Bleſſings, which Peace ought to Crown it withall.*

The King next to God is the principal Spring, and the firſt Principle of the

wonders

wonders we ſpeak of ; 'Tis alſo to him, to whom I do attribute the firſt Honour and Principal Glory, Though much reflects upon them, who have been th' Inſtruments of ſo proſperous a Reign ; who have ſeconded that Excellent Prince with their Counſels and Actions ; who have aided in ſteering th' helm of the State, and to guide the Ship to a glorious Haven. I would not deſcend to that particular, nor prepoſſeſſe the ſpirit of any perſon, I have not made diſtribution of that Glory, nor taken from the Reader, the right of giving it to whom he ſhall think worthieſt of it ; I leave him then this privilege Entire, and the Liberty to make Judgement, as it ſhall ſeem good unto him ; I have not offended againſt Juſtice, when I have made uſe of that right, or that the ſame faith and ſincerity have not alwayes reigned in what I have written for the paſt time, as in what I now write, and ſhall ſay for the future; And 'tis that little good, which you may find in my writings of this Nature, or at leaſt that, whereof I dare glory. For they do me much wrong, who have accuſed me to have Commended ſome perſons with Exceſs of praiſes, and with Immoderate complyance ; That is very contrary to my humour, and I would have them know, that 'tis as impoſſible for me to praiſe falſly, as to blame cauſleſſly, and to ſeek Paint for what is foul, as to caſt Ink upon a fair face. I have written my Thoughts, the words have iſſued from the ſoul; Painting hath not Contributed any thing to the ſubject, the ſoul repreſents ; 'Tis a proceeding I will never forſake ; And Fortune hath not hopes enough to give me, nor good enough to do me, t' oblige me to betray my Conceptions, and to tell a Lye, which is the greateſt of all faults. Poſterity will ſpeak with much more advantage than I have done of th' actions which I have praiſed ; ſtrangers applaud highly, what I have ſaid, and even they, who are affrighted, and whoſe eyes they dazle, make the ſame Judgment ; if I have ſinned againſt the Rules of good ſenſe, and if my Reaſonings are found Weak, they ſhall very much oblige me in reforming them, and in inſtructing of me. 'Tis a courteſie not to be rejected, and a blind man ſhould be very unhappy in refuſing to be guided by a perſon that hath a good ſight. This ſecond part, and the third, which ſhall ſhortly follow, will open a fairer field, and furniſh a more Ample matter of Inſtruction for them, who would do me that favour ; There they ſhall find more myſterious Politiques and more profoundly handled, than in the firſt part, and there may be ſeen more Lively and more Natural touches of that Incomparable Conduct, which will not receive its true value but from the future, and from th' Age of the world.

Thou wilt excuſe, Reader, *this ſmall Apology, which ought not to be denied to Truth, the Chief and beſt Condition of my works ; I come to the Subject of this Book, whereof the two firſt books have for Title and Matter,* The Councel of War of a Prince ; *'Tis not that I pretend there, t' expownd the Precepts of the Military Art, or to ſhew th' Order of a Siege and of a Battel ; ſuch things are not of my profeſſion or force ; my deſign is onely to give ſome Notions and ſome Lights to them, who having th' honour to be of the Princes Councel, ought to be furniſhed, and able to give an Opinion upon the War, the moſt Jealous of all humane Actions, and the moſt important of all politique Affairs ; 'Tis certain, that ſince a Man is not called to th' Exerciſe of Juſtice without Learning and Approved abilities ; no perſon ought to riſe raſhly and without preparation to that ſevere and dreadfull Tribunal of Juſtice, which the Prince executes againſt himſelf, and ought t' exerciſe againſt other Princes ; To that Tribunal,*

I say, where no person can advise a War without giving Sentence of Death against a great Number of Innocent persons, who are obliged to perish in the Just or Unjust Quarrels of their Masters.

I pass from thence to the Third part, and there continue my Method, supposing that th' Armes of a Prince cannot have a juster Imployment than to purge the State of Civil Wars; And to divert them, which forein Enemies Endeavour to bring into the Countrey; And having declared that the King hath stopt the great spring of the Troubles of the Kingdome in suppressing th' Hugonot faction; I shew, That he hath disappointed the great design of Monarchy of th' House of Austria, in which was subtilly and necessarily laid up the Ruine of France. These wonderfull Events, being considered, I conceive, that no man can say any thing of so great advantage of this Prince, that is not beneath his Glory; and that Rhetorique wants Figures, or th' Art of Sophisters boldness t' equal the greatness of these two Successes; but since the Design of this pretended Monarchy, which many persons of old date have attributed to th' House of Austria, passeth into the Spirits of some men for an Invention or Fable; I am resolved, to draw this Truth from the Darkness where it was hid, and to cleer the belief of Princes and of Nations, with the Lights that History hath furnisht, and with the results from the Conclusions of the Designs and Enterprizes of the Princes of that House, wherein I have endeavoured, to give them as much honour as is possible for me, in acting rationally and in order to the proportion and appropriation of the Means to th' Ends, they had designed. For the World well knows, that I have not been of Ferdinands Council nor of Charls the fifth, nor of the other Princes of that Line. I have yet, Reader, two or three things, to say, before I finish, and it concerns me that thou shouldst know them. The first is, that in speaking of the raising of the Catalans, and particularly of th' Insurrections of the Portugeses, which immediately followed, It seems, that I do presage and play the Prophet of things past; To which I answer, It was foreseen, that it might be objected unto me, and that I had not exposed my self to that Assault, if many persons of great Quality and Merit, had not seen the same things in a discourse, which I made from the beginning, and at th' Apparition of that Occurrence, before the Portugeses had thrown off the Spanish Domination; The second thing is, That Forreiners may possibly take offence in that I do touch some Errors in the persons of their Nation and discover some staines. But I assure my self, that they will be easily satisfied, when they Consider, that 'tis not by a spirit of Disdain or motion of Hatred, and that the manner of my Entertainment, is not different from that which I give my Countreymen, whose defects and stains, I do not hide or suppress, when the Truth and Necessity of the discourse oblige me t' expose and produce them. The third thing is, that a false date is stollen into my Narratives, which is that of the Treaty of Smalchalde and it may be of some other Anachronismes, which are of no Importance to my design; And that it satisfies me, that the facts whereon my Reasonings are grounded and built are true, without respect to the time wherein they were done.

These Advices, Reader, being received, Thou maist give what Entertainment thou pleasest to this Book; Whatever it be, it shall give me no Trouble; being certain, that no person can disappoint me, of the first Recompense and Principal End, that I proposed to my self in writing, which is, the satisfaction of Endeavouring the service of my Prince and Countrey.

SECOND

SECOND PART OF The Minister of State.

Of the Counsel of War of a Prince.

First BOOK.

First Discourse.

Whence it proceeds, That Beasts of the same Kind do not make War amongst themselves as Men do; That Irregular Passions are the Cause of that Disorder; That Duels are against the Right of Men, and particularly against th' Authority of the Prince.

AT th'Entry of this Discourse, there's Matter of Astonishment; That Wars are seen amongst Men; Rules invented, and an Art formed to direct them; That among all th'Arts exercised in the Society of Men, there's none that casts so great a light, or that gains so great a portion of glory: And that in th'Old Law, War is found to be so solemnly Authorised, and, in a manner, Consecrated, by the Command of God, as that amongst his high and most glorious Titles, He hath chosen That of the *God of Armies*. Th'inclination which naturally the greatest part of Things hath, not onely to Conserve It's Beeing, but also to Multiply it, is evidently contrary to this Visible folly which incites Men to the Destruction of one another; And we do not see, That other Creatures of the same kind, make amongst themselves particular assigned Combats, or that they assemble in Troops to decide any difference by Murder, and by the slaughter of the greatest part of them. That Dereliction and

Book I. Prostitution men make of their Lives, and the Subjects for which they so willingly Sacrifize them, being many times but a little smoak and opinion; Are they not th'effects of a secret Instinct? That it is not their Chiefest good, nor their Ultimate felicity, which without doubt it should be, if there were not a greater Good: And the Wars, which God permits or commands, where Life is given up as a prey to so many Accidents that destroy it, are they not Clear evidences, and a Manifest conviction, of the small Account God makes of it; and that it is not the fairest present he makes to men, nor the subject, wherein is accomplished th'End for which he gives them their Beeing?

But not to wander out of our way, and to take off th'Amazement, whereof we have proposed the Causes; I say, It must not be thought strange, that men enter so often into Quarrels with their fellows, since they are so seldome at Accord with themselves, and are scarce free from Troubles and Disorders within, and that their very Souls are the Fields of the Combats that are fought, and th'Enemies that make the War quarter always within them. This disorder, which happens in the condition of Men, and not of Beasts, in whom no discords seem t'arise, nor contrariety of parts to be formed, hath many springs from whence it issues; the first is, as all the world knows, the Constitution of their Nature, and the divers orders of the parts that compose it; th' Inclinations of th'one are ordinarily opposed to th'inclinations of th'other, and their Appetites agitated with such Contrary motions, that they which cause the Fire t'arise are not more opposed, than they that make the Earth to descend. So that there is neither peace nor quietness in th' Interior of Man, longer than the Superior part is obeyed by the Passions, and that th'Appetite where they are formed, permits the yoke, and resists not th'orders that are imposed upon it.

If it happen, and 'tis the second Spring of disorders, That in these Intestine Wars and Skirmishes, which tear the Soul, th' Inferior part obtains the Victory, yet Calm and Rest attends not upon that fatal Conquest, but greater Emotions, and more dangerous Tempests are raised: And as there are People of so unquiet a Nature, and of a humor so turbulent, as that they can never remain in peace, and that of necessity they must stir within, when they have nothing to do without, and kindle Civil, when they have finished Forein Wars: So when the Passions find no resistance from Reason, and have neither Bridle to retain them, nor Barrier to stay them, they abate not of their Inquietude; they turn their Forces against themselves; they trouble and hinder one another in the pursute of their Objects: Love slacks th' activity of Ambition; Avarice stops the progress of Love; and th'poor Soul, the Subject which these Furies torment, and the Sea these Winds agitate, suffers more by their violence than can be expressed: yet Reason is never so fully obscur'd, nor so generally disarmed by the Passions, but that some beam always remains, which

makes

makes visible to the Soul, at least at certain encounters, the Deformity of her condition, and points out her shame and remorse for base condescentions. I could here produce, if it were not a little from the purpose, though not unprofitable, another Cause of Man's misfortune, who delivers himself up to the mercy of his Passions, and permits them to take the place of his Reason, which she ought to have over them: Man being unable to put off the Desire of happiness, which Nature hath planted in the Centre of his Soul, nor to forbear acting to its Content, though he intend it not; and incapable to fill or calm it, but in the possession of that End for which he received his Being, as the cause it was given unto him, or in the exercise of the Virtues, the means of conducting him thither, having obtain'd th'other good things pursu'd, and enjoy'd th' other desired objects, is to begin again, and is as empty as He was before; that instead of going streight on, He turn'd the back to th'aspir'd felicity; And nothing remains, if more were not to be fear'd, but a dull saciety that besots him, a profound wearines of spirit that renders him insupportable to himself, and such an inevitable melancholy as gnaws and frets men who fall from their hopes. Book I.

As then, th' Irregular Passions are the cause of th' Intestine Troubles which men suffer, and of th' ill intelligence they hold within themselves; they are also the cause of the Quarrels raised amongst particular persons; and of the Wars made amongst Princes. Th' enterprises which Ambition, Avarice, and the like disordred motions forme in some, to the dammage of others, and th' oppositions made to their violence and rapidity, put all Civil Societies into combustion, and cut asunder all the Bonds of the Politique Body. It were to the loss of my Expressions, and to th'abuse of the Readers patience, to labor the confirmation of a truth, which Experience hath taught in all places, Reason causeth to be touched with the finger, and whereof History gives constant evidences.

As to Beasts, 'tis no wonder if they are not subject to so great stroaks, and to those furious storms, wherewith God hath permitted Man's conditition to be beaten; Their Souls are not divided by its Powers into opposite Regions, and make not in them the conjunction of two different worlds, the Spiritual and Temporal, as the Souls of Men do; but all it's Inclinations and Faculties are drawn, as the Philosophers say, from the breast and power of the Matter; it hath no Appetite but what is bounded, and a small thing satisfies it; and as Nature guides it by a true light to th'Objects most proper, and prescribes the degree of Enjoyment that is most convenient, and cannot exceed; she provides also objects in such Abundance, and of so Easie an acquisition, that all th'Individuals of the same kind find what is necessary for them, and without labour.

To divert these evils, wherewith th'Humane condition's afflicted, or to correct the malignity, and to dull th'edge of them, Divine Providence hath not deprived the Soul of Means and convenient Remedies;

Book I. if that had been, it had left too shameful and too visible a stain upon that fair *Oeconomy*, wherewith it governs the World; and that admirable congruity it hath observ'd in all th' other parts which compose it, had been belied in the noblest part of them; It had acted with th' imprudence of an Artificer, who lays out all his force, and th'excellency of his Art, upon a base subject, and takes pains to carve a piece of Glass curiously, and to commit great faults in a matter of much price, or to set a rich Diamond ill, which must abate the lustre of his Art, and honor due to Nature. But that is prevented; for as to the principal good of men, as th' inward calm and tranquillity of the Soul, and victory of Reason over the Passions, whence tranquillity and calm do issue, the Means to obtain them, is in their power, and therein they depend not upon the fancies of Fortune, nor upon the Passions of other Men: Yet since th' Infidelity of *Adam*, and th' unhappy destiny of corrupted Nature, there are not onely great Combats to be fought, and strange Difficulties to be overcome for that Victory; but also great Reliefs to be expected, and eminent supplies from Philosophy, and greater from Religion; and the Grace of God is never wanting to them, who are not wanting to themselves; and the good successes of this War attend always upon good Designs, and lawful Resistances.

As for the spoils which Passions commit without, and th'impetuous Motions wherewith they disorder Society; if they overflow against particular men; and if they produce injuries and outrages, and the Revenge and Reparations which offended persons take by their hands; greater and more dangerous Excesses succeed the first; The Preservatives and Remedies against these evils, are found in the same Society wherein they are seen to bud and grow.

Wherefore there's no Government in the world, of what Spirit soever 'tis animated, and under what Form soever 'tis establish'd, which hath not restrained from th' hands of particular persons th'use of Vengeance, to transmit it to their Magistrates, as persons disinteressed; and for fear also, lest Corruption should penetrate even to the Functions of their Charges, and that the Justice they ought to distribute, should be changed by some tincture of Passion which might invisibly steal in, it hath been ordain'd, That the dispensation should be made by the ministration of the Laws, that are incorruptible, and being incapable of Affection and Knowledge, are by consequent incapable of Passions, and inaccessible by Love and Hatred, by Favour and Riches: And that there may be no power in the State, but what shall bend under that of the Laws, nor so petty a person that shall not have Reason of the Greatest that may offend him. The disposition of publick Forces is committed to the Soveraign, wherewith he may reduce the most refractory and fierce Subject to th'obedience of common Right, and confine him within the bounds of Equity and Justice.

From hence it may appear, That th'use of Duels, whereby particular

ticular persons endeavour to do themselves Justice, and to draw Book I.
Reason with their hands of th'injuries received from particular men, is a manifest violation of the Right of the People, and a particular Invasion upon the Princes Right. And this Evil began by the pernicious example of *Francis* the First, and *Charls* the Fifth, and by the fatal accorded permission of *Henry* the Second, encreased wonderfully in the time of our Civil Wars, and in that general depravation of th'obedience and fidelity which Subjects owe to their Prince, and hath since risen to its height, and is multipli'd infinitely by th'indulgency of *Henry* the Fourth, during the peace of his Reign. And as fruitful and fat grounds, if good Seeds are not cast into them to exercise their fruitfulness, produce Thistles and Gorst, and other hurtful Weeds; it hath so happened to us, that men of courage wanting matter t' ingender lawful acts of valour, have given themselves up to unlawful productions, and not being able to gain the Body, have pursu'd the Shadow, in these particular Combats, wherein *France* hath lost more Noble Blood in a few years of Peace, than it had done in many years of War. But 'tis to no purpose to preach to our Nobility upon this Text, or to declaim against this Abuse or excess of Courage, or to seek Remedies in Philosophy or Religion against so Brutal a disease; or that the Blood which *Henry* the Second permitted to be poured out in the Combat of *Jarnac* and *Chastenerage* cried for vengeance to Heaven, and obtain'd it; or that the Prince, whose Quality exempted him from th' hazard of Duels, lost his life in a Sport which was the Representation of it; that the most warlike Nations, except ours, of the world, have not admitted of that Bastard-Valour, or at least Naturalized it; That the *Lacedemonians*, who made a more express profession of true Valour than th'other *Grecians*, and whose Government seem'd t' have for Soul nothing but that Virtue, had no knowledge of Duels; That the *Romans*, who were the Conquerors of so many Nations and People, resign'd it to their Vilest kind of men, and to whom they had assigned Criminal lives onely for their objects; That the *Spaniards*, who have conceiv'd that great design of th' Absolute Monarchy, which hath agitated them above an Age, and for that purpose have declared and made War to so many other Nations, have by consequence more need of Valour than any other Virtue, laugh at our modern folly; and if a sleight imitation corrupt them, or others of our Neighbours, 'tis but a spark that flies to them from the great fire which devours us; That 'tis an horrible injustice, that a person that hath sweat in Arms, and been victorious in many Combats, Battels, and Sieges, should be obliged to put his Reputation and Glory to Question against a young Fool, who hath not seen any other Field of Battel than the Hall of a Fencing-Master, whose courage rests upon th'agility of his body, and swiftness of his hands, and upon a long exercise of Assault and Defence: 'Tis to no purpose, I say, to represent all this to our Nobility, which can never be converted or healed, but by their own

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Book I. cure of this Folly, and by fixing their honour no longer in that false and furious Valour, and by beating down with its own hands th'Idol it hath erected for Adoration.

Second Discourse.

Why God hath left Princes the Right of doing themselves Justice, when they are offended by other Princes; That Lawful War is in th'order of Virtues, and a Branch of Justice; Why 'tis called the Flayl of God's Anger.

WHat hath been said in the Precedent Discourse, is one of the Motives which have obliged Particular persons to make choice of Superiors, and t'impose on them the duty of distributing Justice; The price in part of the Liberty quitted for the love of their Superiors: But that would not serve for perfection of th'end proposed to themselves in th'establishing of them; And 'tis not enough for the safety and prosperity of a Country, exposed to the spoils of the Seas and Rivers, to raise Causeys against the overflowings of the Rivers, if Banks and Sluces are not provided against the Seas Inundations. The Invasions made by Soveraigns upon th'Estates of other Soveraigns, and the Ruines they bring, when they enter with Armies, are evils of another weight and of another consequence, than those evils particular men suffer from other particular persons; and other labours and effects are required to stop the causes of these publick Springs of Desolation, when they break out, than to suppress the small disorders, and appease the petty troubles which arise betwixt private persons.

'Tis visible from hence, since Princes have no Superiors on Earth, to repair the wrongs suffer'd by other Princes, that they may do themselves Reason; and that the Right of Nature, which permits to every man th'exercise of Revenge, when 'tis just, is not suspended, as to Princes, by the Right of the People, which takes it from particular persons for the reasons above mention'd. Whence it follows also, That God having taken away that Right, by reason of the Ignorance which doth usually accompany them, or Passions that betray them, and walking in darkness, would grope to find the ways of Justice, or in weighing the wrongs received, and satisfaction due, the perpetual motions of their lives might shake their hands, and hinder them to hold the Ballance streight, This Right hath he given to Soveraigns, with this precise Obligation, That in their Understandings and Counsels, Reason should preside in all the purity of its light; that Passions should have no admittance to their Cabinet Counsel, and that this holy place ought to be like th' highest Regions of th' Air, without emotion or trouble; That the mischief is, that their Cabinet Counsel, instead of resembling that high Region, is but too often

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the representation of the Middle Region, and instead of calm and se- Book I.
renity, which ought to reign there, nothing is heard but the noise of Passions, and seen, but the fruits of Ambition and Avarice, and those other great wandrings of mens understandings.

Though this be so, and that Evils are never small, which grow from the disorders of publick causes; 'tis nevertheless the gentlest destiny, and most favourable entertainment, which the present condition of men can receive: Providence, after the loss of Primitive Innocency, and Original Justice, hath sufficiently provided against this Inconvenience, and strengthned Society against the designs of Injustice and spoiles of Violence, by inspiring men with Policy and Judgment to make choice of Soveraigns, that should be obliged to defend them against the force of strangers, and against th'unjust enterprises of their fellow-Citizens and Countrymen; and by imposing upon them a stricter Obligation and severer Laws to do their duty; because the sole faculty of doing Justice, and Inflicting of punishment is reserved to them against such as disobey. To conclude, God hath not onely filled up the measures of good, which he did unto men, but hath also given them over-measure, in sending the Law of Charity, and causing to descend from Heaven that holy fire, which dries up the very spring, and consumes the very root of all sharpness and violence, that may arise against ones Neighbour in the Souls of men. That if men fall so often sick, and die in th'abundance of Good things, notwithstanding the many Preservatives and Remedies, and the large effusion of graces and Relief, wherewith God hath supplyed them; If they are mastered by Vices, and led in triumph by their Passions; if in stead of Reason and Equity, Injustice and Force Reign and condemn th' Innocent with the Nocent; He hath permitted it, not to deprive men of th'use of that Liberty, which he had given in favour of them, nor to take from them the matter of Merit, by imposing the Necessity of doing good; but that wicked persons might punish one another, and honest men exercised by their contraries; and that all may learn, There's nothing more vile and more despicable than life; That there's nothing but vanity and affliction of spirit in it; and that no true love is to be had for a Country, which for a few Flowers it bears, produceth many Briars and Thorns; and having but a narrow path that leads to life, hath many ways, and large roads that lead to death, and end in precipices. This is to th'honor of Divine Providence. Let's return to our Subject.

'Tis easie to conclude from what hath been now said, That as God is th' Author of the Justice, which Soveraigns distribute to their people, He is also th'Author of that Justice which Soveraigns exercise against other Soveraigns; that both of them have the Seal of his Approbation; and that th'use of Lawful Arms is no less a Virtue than th'use of Laws, when they are well dispensed. And this first kind of Justice, resting upon the Basis of its Nature, and not exceeding the bounds of the Right of the People, is more noble and

glorious

Book I. glorious than th'other; is a livelier Beam of the power, which God confers upon Princes, and a more illustrious evidence of th'honor they enjoy, to represent him on earth, as I have shewed in another place. 'Tis no wonder then if God, in th'Antient Law, commanded War to be made, and if he be there styled, *The God of Armies*; 'tis of that Justice whereof we have lately spoken, and whereof we will draw the Platform and Habit the Figure in the subsequent Discourses.

It may be demanded, whether the Doctrine which I have now delivered be true, and that War is a Branch and a Stream of Justice, and in th'Order and Classis of Virtues? As, whence it proceeds, That in the Bible, 'Tis called one of the Flayls of th'Anger of God? And wherefore in the New Law, God takes not the Title of, *God of Armies*, wherewith he seems t'adorn himself, and t'exalt his Majesty in th'Old Law?

As to the first Difficulty, 'tis not uneasie to resolve, and many Reasons may be brought to prove it: The First, That the Justice Soveraigns execute upon other Soveraigns, is called a Flayl, in comparison of that justice they render to their Subjects; so that th'administration of this Justice being forbidden to particular persons, and committed to a third kind of persons, and of a disinteressed condition, is, by consequence, less subject to Corruption than th'other sort of Justice, where parties are Judges in their own cause, and where there's danger, lest self-love entring the Counsels of War with Passions, wherewith it is usually accompanied, occasion a mixture of Injustice. The second is, That although Right and Equity onely are proposed in the project and birth of War, Accidents unseen do many times happen in the sequel and progress thereof, which change its nature, and degenerate it into a greediness of Vengeance, or into a sole desire of Ambition; and 'tis certain, that th'Appetite is provok'd by the facility of giving it content, and th'abundance of Meats makes it exceed the bounds of Temperance. The third Reason is, That the Justice which Soveraigns distribute to their Subjects, is rendred without Effusion of blood, and without Violence, at least in Civil affairs; the Justice they exercise against other Soveraigns is never guided but by Force and Arms, breathes nothing but death and murthers: And were the Question onely for one inch of Earth, or a spoonful of Water, many Subjects must perish on both sides, for the just or unjust Quarrels of their Masters; which ought not to be found strange, since Soveraigns being th'Heads of the Body, whereof the Subjects are the Members, and as such, being not able t'Act but in communion and conjunction with them; That they make an indivisible communication in all things amongst themselves, and that th'Head being struck, the Members must be offended; nor can th'Head defend it self, without exposing the Parts to blows, which make one Body with it.

So that the manner of Exercising this Justice, which is full of blood, desolation, and ruine, may justly be called a Flayl; as Fire and Poyson

Book I.

Poyson us'd in Medicines may be called by such names, to distinguish them from th'other Ingredients made use of to heal ordinary Diseases: And it must not be denyed, but that the Justice rendred to particular persons is subject, though not so often, nor so dangerously, to the same Inconveniencies, and exposed to th'Assaults and Ambushes of Vices, which are contrary to it; It must be confessed, That Reason and Equity do not always weigh down the Ballance; That there are bad Judges, as well as wicked Princes; And that in both Capacities, the Great oppress the Mean persons, and the Poor are the Prey and the Sacrifices of the Rich: And since it is the condition and common Portion of Moral Vertues to Lodge betwixt two Extremes, and in the Confines of two opposed Vices; 'tis no wonder, if Man be troubled to contain himself in the midst of these two Confines, without Entry into the Country of Vices, where he finds on all sides the passages Easie, and where th'Errors and Inward Inclinations, th'Objects and outward Examples press him frequently to pass.

The fourth reason is, That God hath sometimes commanded a People to make War effectively upon another People, t'Exterminate them from the face of th'Earth, and to purge them with Sword and Fire, of the Crimes wherewith they had offended His Divinity, dishonored Nature, and defac'd the Politique Body: Many Examples there are of this Truth in th'Old Testament, and among the *Jews*, that besides th'express Commands God hath given to make War, He hath sometimes raised and caused *Soveraigns* and their People to take Arms by occult and unknown Means, which are not here to be discussed, to chastise other People and other Soveraigns, that had offended Him: And this is proved in the Choice given to *David* by God, of the three Flayls of his Anger, the Plague, Famine, or War, t'expiate th'Excess of Pleasure and Pride, conceiv'd at the sight of the Numberless Number of the People, whereof he was the Master.

In the third place, That he causeth Accidents and Conjunctures, when he pleaseth, which constrain Princes to make War that would continue in Peace, and to break the Chains of Concord that bind them; though they Act cordially to preserve it, as I might prove by many Examples, If I had not fear to be tedious, and had not brought some Instances already in the First Part of my Discourse, That the Fire being kindled betwixt two Princes, tired with Labour in so painful, rugged, and dangerous a way, breathe nothing but Peace and Rest; yet God hinders them to attain it by unexpected Accidents, which respectively beget one another: and when th'Haven is in hope to be gain'd, some contrary Wind is raised that forceth them to Sea again, and exposeth them to new and more dangerous Storms.

These Considerations, and many more whereof I am ignorant, are the Cause, That all War, how just soever, may be called a *Flayl*

Book I. *of God's Anger*, and an Effect of his offended Providence; It may be demanded, since War may enter into the Classis of Virtues, and is of th' Apurtenances of Justice, how comes it to pass, that God takes not, in the New Law, the glorious and fearful Title of, *God of Armies*, as he hath done in th' Old Law?

To this truly th' Answer is very easie, and who is it that knows not, if he have received any Tincture of Religion, and learned the first Elements of Christianity, that the New Law is a Law of Peace and Love towards our Neighbour? That the Disciples of *Jesus Christ* are known by that Mark, and are distinguish'd from other Men by that Sacred Character; That the Father could not give a greater Evidence of his Love to men, than in giving his onely Son for their Redemption; That the Son gave the higheſt Proof of Charity in offering Himself Willingly, and Sacrifizing His Life Voluntarily for the Love of them; That th' holy Spirit was not seen but in the Form of a Dove, or in the Figure of fiery Tongues; And that the Church his Spouse caused Oyl and Balsome to be put into th' use of the Sacraments, and other Holy Things, and no Violent Substances; which denotes, That the Spirit of the New Law is a Spirit of Sweetness, of Indulgency, and of Peace, and commands or adviseth no other War, than what ought to be made to Passions and Vices; 'tis so far from allowing any Usurpation, or Retention of other mens Goods, that it permits not men to Covet them; and ordains not onely, that Justice be done to our Neighbour, but adviseth the support rather of Injustice and Injurie, than the Pursute of Reparations by Lawful Powers; nor to ravish from Religion th' Evidences of that fair Maxim, which proceeds securely from it, *That Action is less Noble than Sufferance.* If Justice then, which the New Law recommends so powerfully, and is the Vital Spirit and Natural Heat of the Civil Body, were impartially executed; and Charity that covers faults, which Justice would expose to light, and makes up the Breaches that Justice would leave open, were cherish'd by Christians; such men least, would have need onely of the Conditions of Peace, and of the Counsels of Natural Equity amongst themselves, and there would be no occasion for prescribing to particular persons the Forms of Pleadings, or to Princes the Laws of making War; there would be no occasions for Judges or Captains: All that are enclosed in the Womb of the Church would breathe nothing but gentle and peaceable Air, the Revenge of Outrages would be taken in the Retribution of good Deeds, and there would be no cause t' implore th' Arm of the *God of Armies*, of the *Powerful and Terrible God*, but only t' invoke the Name of the God of Peace, and Father of Mercies.

But the Mischief is, say the Poets, that Justice staid not long amongst men, and having carried the Ballance into Heaven, whither she is retired, hath left onely the Sword on Earth, which Injustice and Violence have laid hold on; That Charity, the Preserver of Union, and the great Virtue of Christianity, hath not reigned but amongst the

the Faithful of the first Generation; That its Heat hath ever since diminished; and 'tis visible, that the present Christians are more divided among themselves than the *Mahometans*; and instead of acting against that Immortal and Implacable Enemy of their Religion, and publick Detainer of their Estates, have neither Understanding, nor Courage, nor Power, but to hurt and destroy themselves; Were Christians entire, and their Forces united, it might cost the *Turk* too dear to assault them; but by their Discords and diminution of Forces, they make the Victory easie for their Enemies; the Blood which they pour out, and the Moneys they consume, are th'Evidences of their Design, and a Proof, That if they have not Resolution enough to fight the common Enemy, they have at least Desire enough to be taken. The Reader will excuse this small Digression, and this Complaint on the By, which the Zeal of Publick good hath forced from me.

Third Discourse.

That Princes ought to Imitate God in th'use of the Right he hath given them to do Justice themselves; That 'tis very difficult even for Princes, who Love and Understand their Affairs, t'effect it; which is confirmed by two Examples, th'one of Henry *the Second, th'other of* Philip *the Second.*

IN the precedent Discourse hath been shewed, That the Right God hath given to Princes of doing Justice themselves, is the richest Effusion he makes them of his Power, and the fairest Beam he communicates to them of his Light; whence we may conclude, To make this Representation perfect, and that the Copy differ not much from th'Original, 'tis necessary, that they Imitate His Conduct, and March upon th'Impressions of his Providence, in th'use of that destroying Right, and in the dispensation of that bloody Justice. In the first place, As God never descends to this mournful Exercise, either prepossess'd with Error, or troubled with Passion, Princes, if possible, should do the same, they ought to see clearly into th'Action before they do Embark, and be well assured that they do nothing, but what is lawful for them to do; and to that end they ought to use the utmost of their Power, that Reason onely have place in their Counsels, and that that great Tribunal, where such important Resolutions are taken, and the Sentences of Life and Death given, hold onely in that high Region of the Soul, where no smoak doth arise from the lower Region, as is above declared.

But as this is very easie to be said, so 'tis very hard to be put in practice; and 'tis as possible to resist th'entry of the Sea, when the Winds drive it, as to shut the door of the Counsels of Princes upon their Passions, or upon the Passions of their Ministers of State. I will

Book I. not here speak, because I have done it in the first part, of th'opposed Motions, and contrary Inclinations of the Sword-men and Roab-men, equally admitted into the Counsels of Princes; the first lean ordinarily to the War, as to their Element, and to the Field, where the principal Harvest is made of their Greatness and Glory; th'other encline to Peace, as to their Centre, and as to the Season which brings them the fairest days; and where their good Qualities expatiate themselves in Pomp, and are in their proper Lustre. All the world knows of the violent Schism which divided the Thoughts of the *Constable* of *Montmorancy*, and of the *Chancellor* of th' *Hospital*, upon the Matter of the troubles, which vex'd the Minority of the Children of *Henry* the Second: And the famous Answer the *Chancellor* made to the *Constable*, who reproached him, That it belonged not to him, nor to them of his Profession, to meddle with th'Affairs of Wars; *That it belonged not to him nor to his Associates to make War, But it belonged to him and to his Associates to judge of the Time when it ought to be made.* No person also is ignorant of th' obstinate and invincible Aversion to Peace, which the *Marshal* of *Biron* had, and what he said one day to his son, who being not so great a Politician as the father, nor so foreseeing of the Future, acted vigorously to put out and extinguish the fire of the War, which the father endeavoured to cherish and enflame; *That if Peace was made, he resolved to set Cabages at Biron, and to renounce the Court and Fortune.* In this, truly there's nothing that is not very ordinary, and 'tis but too natural for every person to love his Profession, and what contributes most to his Advancement and Preferment. But this is very strange, that intelligent Princes do sometimes abandon their Interests to wed other mens, and are indulgent to the Jealousie or Ambition of their Ministers of State, to the prejudice of their Affairs. Behold two memorable Examples, th'one drawn from our History, th'other from the *Spanish* History. *Henry* the Second was without doubt a Prince well instructed in th' Art of Reigning, and when he came to the Government of the State, very capable to conduct it, his Prudence and Valour equally shined in the first years of his Reign, and his Fortune prevailed above *Charls* the Fifth's; and it may be said, That th'Orient of his glory was the Couchant of th'others: After his Victories obtained in all places by his Arms, and Triumph in his Artifices, as we shall shew in another place, he saw the Course of a happy War suspended by a Truce, which Crown'd the good Success with great Profits, and an incredible Reputation. But as the things of this world cannot stay long in the same condition, and that the favours of Fortune are not fixed; or that as men have accustomed to be weary of their proper felicity, and to love the change of good, it happen'd, that *Henry* did not stand firm in that posture, which th'Heavens seemed t'have chosen to make him happy. After the promotion of *Paul* the Fourth to the Pontificate, th'Ambition of his Nephews heated immeasurably th' hatred he naturally bore to the *Spaniards*, and put it into his head t'endeavour

deavour a League with *Henry*, to drive the *Spaniards* from *Naples*, and to conferr it upon a Son of *France*, with very advantagious Conditions, as may be seen in th'Articles of that League: The thing was very difficult, and it was no small affair to engage *Henry* in an Enterprise which offended his Conscience, in the manifest violation of publick Faith, and was evidently hurtful to the State, in making it put forth of th'Haven, whither it was arrived with so much Honor and Profit, and t'expose it again to th'infidelity of the Sea, and to the danger of Tempests. Moreover, *Henry* had so good a sight, as to discover th'Apparances wherewith they endeavour'd to blind him, and had in his Council Persons, that were proof to the Subtleties of th'*Italian* Wits, and to the Force of the Spirits of *Lorrain*. But the *Caraffes* and *Sirs* of *Guise* laid their Batteries to break the Truce, and the *Queen* was assaulted from all parts, and by all sorts of Engines, to perswade the King to condescend. The Proposition at first was ill received, for the Reasons alleg'd; the *Constable* of *Montmorancy*, principal Minister of State, and principal Favourite, opposed it couragiously and constantly; the *Marshal* of *Brissac*, an able man in business, and a great Captain, presented Remonstrances from *Piedmont*, which were capable to perswade all that were capable to submit to Reason, and give way to Truth; and there was no apparance, but that Reason and Truth should prevail in th'Understanding of *Henry*, upon the Matter of their Contradictions. Book I.

But they did not prevail, and what one of the *Caraffes*, who was then at Court, could not obtain by th'Authority of the Pope his Uncle, wherewith he was armed; what th'Address and Eloquence of the Cardinal of *Lorrain*; what the Credit and Reputation of the Duke of *Guise*, who was second Favourite, and the Constables Rival, could not obtain, the Dutchess of *Valentinois* carried; and that Lady, whom the *Sirs* of *Guise* had gain'd into their Interest and Alliance, was the Devil that had taken absolute possession of the King, and forced him to yield after a long defence, and to consent to what she would have done, or rather to what the *Sirs* of *Guise*, or the *Caraffes* did desire, though it justled Honesty, and was contrary to the Good of the State. Time made discovery of th'Imprudence of that Design, and broke the Charm which Reason could not defeat. Our enterprize upon the Kingdom of *Naples* failed, so soon as it was Embarqu'd, and we received Affronts instead of making of Conquests; *France* that was unfurnished of her fairest and best Forces, and of the most of her Moneys, to give them to *Sir* of *Guise*, found it self weak to resist the Storm that came thundring upon *Picardy* by *Flanders*, and being not fore-seen, because it was secretly raised, made the more dangerous Impression in the Surprise. The *Constable* was overcome and taken prisoner before St. *Quintins*, and a little after the *Marshal* of *Furnes* defeated near *Graveline*. Though *France* was astonished at those two great Blows, it was not beaten down, and those interwoven ill Successes, instead of choaking the Kings Virtue, raised it, and made

him

Book I. him think of the Means of Return to his former Condition, and to withdraw with Honour from that ill posture his Imprudence had cast upon him; The King for that purpose recalls *Sir* of *Guise* from *Italy*, where he left none of his Reputation, though he made no progress there; who was no sooner arriv'd in *France*, but he took *Calais* from the *English*, and *Thionville* from the *Flemings*, who all obeyed one Master. These great Beginnings were the presages of a company of greater Successes; and there was place for belief, that the conjunction of Duke *John* of *Saxes* Army to ours, which was very fair, would bring back to us the Victory, whereof our Enemies seemed to be in possession, and would render us with interest our lost glory, under a Chief so valiant and so wise as the Duke of *Guise*. But a Design, as imprudent, to make Peace, ceized on the King, as that which prevailed with him to return to the War: And though according to all the Rules of Civil Prudence, and to all the Maxims of Reputation and Profit, he should have continued the War, though it had been ill begun; it was staid in the strength of the prosperity that did accompany it, and Fortune was repelled that pressed to be favourable unto us: He that exposed so generously the Motion of an unjust War, was th'Author and Instrument of a pernicious Peace, and gave a pregnant Example of th' ordinary humor of the greatest part of the most eminent Servants, to second th'Interests of their Masters when they concurr and agree with theirs, but quit them readily when they disagree; and when it cannot otherwise be done, secure their particular Interest to the Damage of the publick.

The Glory of the Duke of *Guise* hath long made the *Constables* heart to ake, and he perceived that the Dukes Genius had th' Ascendent of his, and that the Elevation of the Dutchess was his Descent and Decadency; The *Constable* by vertue of the Peace, how disadvantagious soever to *France*, labour'd to withdraw from the Duke th'opportunities the War had given him of Advancements, and of making further progress in th'Affections of the King, and in th'Esteem of all *France*; He regained also by the same Means his Liberty, which enabled him to put a value upon himself without patience, which is a Virtue that is not of great merit, nor of great eminency in the Civil Life, and resumed the Place which he held before in the Direction of Affairs: And so *Henry*, in being too compliant to th'covetousness of a Mistress, and to the jealousie of a Favourite, made a Peace and a War unseasonably, and gave up to Love and Friendship th'Interests of Royalty, and the Duty of his Charge, which were incapable of Alienation. His Father understood it much better, and expressed a much stronger Passion for his Country, when prest to receive his liberty upon exorbitant and ruinous conditions, he protested, *That he had rather die in Prison, than receive a Maimed Crown, and to leave his Successors a Lesser Kingdom then he had received from his Ancestors.*

The Second Example is of *Philip* the Second, whom all the world knew to be so desperately taken with the love of Soveraignty, and with

with the Good of his Affairs, that he pardon'd not his own Blood, Book I.
nor the Life of his onely Son, upon th'Advice was given him, that he studied Mischief, and was to pass into *Flanders*, and there t'Establish himself; Nevertheless this Prince, so Amorous of his Greatness, and so Jealous of his Intereſts, hath declined sometimes from that strong Inclination, in favour of his Ministers of State, and to indulge their passions to his prejudice; When the *Flemings* began to rise against him, and t'open that famous Scene, where hath been spilt so much domestick and forein blood, *Marguerita Princess of Parma* their Governess reduced them, partly with Gentleness and Address, partly with Justice and Arms, to a reasonable good Acquiescence: But Tranquillity being not well setled, nor all the Winds, which might trouble it, fully appeased; It was proposed in the Council of *Philip*, what was fit to be done in that Exigency: The Council was equally divided, and as it were torn into two oppoſite Factions; the Chief of th'one of the Parties was *Roderigo Gomez Prince of Eboly*, who had for Followers the Duke of *Feria*, a good equal Instrument of Peace and War, and *Antonio Perez*, no less famous for the long and hot persecution he suffered, as for the Charge of First Secretary of *Spain*, which he had long exercised: *Gomez* was dextrous onely for the Cabinet, and such Affairs were more in his Element, than the War; But his best Quality was, th'Inclination *Philip* had for him, and th'Art, whereby he adjusted himself dextrously to all th' Apprehensions, and to all th' Humours of his Master.

The Chief of th'other Faction, was the Duke of *Alva*, whose Name carries in it self Reputation and Lustre enough, without giving it any other Addition to make him known; His Adherents were the Cardinal of *Spinola*, who formerly had so absolutely governed *Philip*, that he was called the Monarch of *Spain*, and *Granuelle* Bishop of *Arras*, who nourished always Warlike thoughts under a Prelates Robe, and had a particular Revenge for them by whom he had been ill handled, and Renouncing his Administration, forced *Philip* to Recall him. The Duke of *Alva* was Improved in the Cabinet Counsels, and dextrous in th'Intricacies of them: But his principal Talent was the War, as the great Theatre of his Virtue; A Person, more considerable to his Master for the Services he had rendred, and might render to *Spain*, than Acceptable for the Conditions of his Person, who being of a Proud and Severe Temper, was not beloved of them for whom he had done good.

Upon the Relation then, which was sent by the Dutchess of *Parma* of the state of th' Affairs of *Flanders*, the Chiefs gave their Advice singly, and Declared in shew and with Colourable Reasons for the good of *Philip*; but in Effect, and bottom of their Intentions, Answerable to their Passions and particular Ends. The Prince of *Eloby* fearing, that if *Philip* went for the *Low-Countries* to compel by force the *Flemings* to their Duty, and to return them by Arms to the

Book I. the yoke they had cast off, the Duke of *Alva* would be in great esteem with the King, by reason of the Necessity of his Service, and draw the greatest part of Gallant Persons, and the best part of the Court, in Relation to his Charge and principal Command of th'Army, rejected absolutely the way of Arms, and Adviseth that of Sweetness, and to permit the Little heat of Inquietude, which remained in the Rebels, to go out of it self and without violence; But the Duke of *Alva*, who saw that the Peace had almost put him out of work, or left him on the Stairs, whilst *Gomez* staid at the Feast, maintained, that Nothing, but the Sword and the King's Presence could Cure the Disease of the *Flemings*, and that the Power of Rebelling was to be taken from the Rebels to secure from future Rebellions, And cut down the Tree at the root, to hinder the boughs from growing and putting forth.

Philip enclosed between these two Contrary Opinions, and seeing clearly through th'Intentions of those two Counsellors, loving *Gomez* with Passion, and esteeming *Alva* to his Merit, forgets his Maxims, and departs from his own Inclination, which was the Good of his Affairs, to content the Passion of them, by a Moderation that was fatal to him; He resolved then for the satisfaction of *Gomez* to stay in *Spain*, under pretence that his Presence was necessary to keep the *Moors* to their Duty, and hinder his Son *Charls* to disturb in his Absence; and to comply with th'Indocile and Imperious humour of the Duke of *Alva*, He constitutes him Governour of the *Low-Countries*, and gives him the Command of an Army capable to subdue them, in case of a general Revolt, and to force to submission all persons that opposed him: *Gomez* found his Reckoning plentifully in being the chief of the two Parties, and remaining the most powerful of the Kings Council, was in some sort superior to the Duke of *Alva*, who ought to receive Orders from the Council, and as to the *Duke's* Actions, could give what countenance he pleased to them, being not cleared before the King's eyes: The Duke of *Alva* also had cause to be content with the King's Design, to send him Commander of so powerful an Army, and t'exercise a great Charge in a Country, where no person was above him, and where he should be Arbiter of the destiny of a great number of people, and of seventeen fair Provinces.

But th' Interest of *Philip*, and the Laws of good Policy, required, that no Regard was to be had to th'Inclination of *Gomez*, nor to that of the Duke of *Alva*, and that he should have gone in Person, and with a good Army into the *Low-Countries*, to confirm the Tranquillity, as yet unsetled, and to dispense Rigour and Clemency according to the disposition of Spirits, and exigency of Conjunctures; Or if it was not expedient for the King for important considerations to go from the *Escurial*, and to break the chains wich ty'd him to *Spain*; He ought not to have recall'd the Governess from *Flanders*, who might easily have finish'd what she had happily begun, and had

no

no need for that End but of a small encrease of Forces to render her Administration a little more fearful than it was to the *Flemings*, who had in other Things Love and Reverence for her Person. Book I.

By these Examples you may see, how hard it is for the Counsellors of Princes t'enter their Counsels free from particular Passions; since th'ablest Princes and most interessed, are sometimes struck with contagion, and spoil their Affairs by Compliance. It follows not, but that the persons whereof we have now spoken were Great persons, though sometimes they committed faults, and that their Lives were excellent Looking-glasses for them that Govern, though the Glasses were not without spots; There are Illustrious Reigns, as Glorious Temples, and Magnificent Palaces; And though great effusion of Riches have been made, and choice of the best Architects of the world to build them, some errors have been found in them. And the Things of Art have that in common with the Natural, not to be in all parts perfect. As in th' Oeconomy of the Manners of Men, Reason doth not always hold th'Ascendent over the Passions, but that Passions sometimes take it above Reason, and what is of the Dominion of th'Understanding, gives place to what is belonging to a Beast; So, though Princes oblige themselves as strongly as they can to represent the persons of Princes, they cannot forbear many times to act the persons of particular Men, and to cherish th'Inclinations of Nature above the Duties of their Charge; Immutability from Good, is not of the Lot and portion of this miserable Life; And Constancy unshaken, but by some great change, is, in my sense, one of the greatest Wonders of the world; There is no Soul so mean, that is not capable of some fire, and of some strein of Heroick Virtue; but there's none so Heroick, that can maintain without slacking the strength of the flight, which it hath taken, and hold all things under it without ever coming under them: such Souls as approach neerest to this state, and rise and fall, whatsoever happens, less than other Souls, are certainly the Noblest and Fairest of all Souls. And that Equality of Conduct, such as may be gained in this Life, is more admirable and of greater price in it self, though not of so great pomp nor of so great profit, as the Science to make War, to conduct Negotiation, and to govern Empires.

The second Rule, which Princes ought t'observe in th' Use of this severe Justice, whereof we draw the Picture, is, That as God doth not punish sinners at th'Instant they have offended, nor permit his Thunder to break upon the first crimes of Men; Soveraigns also ought not to hasten t'extreme Remedies, and take Arms so soon as they have receiv'd an Injury; They ought to consider, that of all Imployments and humane Enterprises, there's none, wherein Precipitation is so dangerous as in beginning a War, nor wherein more passages are to be sounded, or more ways known before the War be undertaken. They ought to remember, that besides the sad Necessity, which is inseparable from the most Innocent War in the

Book I. world, to devour a great number of Goods and Lives; There's none, wherein the Revolutions are so suddain, and the Conclusions so uncertain; A Wheel moved with violence turns not down with more swiftness, what was above; The Sea is not more unfaithful, nor changeth her calm with more promptitude; And th'hope of Labourers is not so often deceived by the sterility of Harvests; That the prosperities of Arms are subject to change, and th'Entries of War are belyed by th'Issues; That after many Fires kindled, and Tempests raised; After a great quantity of spilt blood, and wealth devoured; After a long Circumvallation, the High way to desolation and ruine; 'Tis of Necessity, that the Lists are to be re-entred, or a Retorn made to the first posture of Peace.

Fourth Discourse.

That Justice is to be observed in the Form as Matter of the War; That Faith is to be kept with Heretiques and Infidels; That Christians have just Cause of Warring with the Turk without making use of the pretext of Religion.

TO Avoid so dangerous a Precipitation, and not t'Engage herein t'ill purpose, and hoise sail to the Wind out of season, 'Tis not sufficient to know that the War is Just, which is to b'undertaken, but that 'tis Necessary to b'undertaken; And 'tis the good of the State, which a Prince undertakes in this occasion, more than any other Interest; 'Tis of Importance, that what is honest and profitable march together; and that the whole Motion of the War ought to turn upon those two Poles. But the Mischief is, That this second condition is not always, as the first, in the power of Princes, and that there's no certain Rule or Proof establish'd to b'assured of it, as of th'other: Some light therefore shall be given to s'obscure a Matter, and some Addresses communicated to prevent wandrings in a Country so little known, when some thing hath been said of Justice; For what concerns it? In the first place, I say, that 'tis necessary it Reigns, if it may be over the whole Extent of the War, and expatiate it self over the Accidents, as Matter of the War, and over the Form, as the Matter of Military actions. For Example, to speak a word of the Manner and Form, wherewith they ought to be conducted; For there are Matters, whereof I will treat to the bottom, and others which I will but lightly touch: For certain, 'tis unworthy of a Man of courage to foul his hands in the cold blood of his enemies, and a most shameful thing for the feet to tread upon what the hands have beaten down, or to take away the life from him who demands it. Heat and Choler ought to be contained within the bounds of Victory, and ought not to be carried beyond it, unless of necessity to be done, which happens rarely, t'assure the

the Victory, or in Right of Revenge, to give no quarter to them, who would give no quarter; And permits that Plunderings be destroyed by Desolations, and Fireings by Combustions. There are nevertheless, some actions, wherein Revenge ought not to be taken, and 'tis unlawfull t' Imitate Robberies and Sacrileges, or to give th' Enemies inhumane Deaths by their Example; there are Laws, which are called the Laws of good War, which the Marshal of *Brisac* hath heretofore made so famous in *Piedmont*, that they ought to b' observed, and made an Act of Justice, according to th' Intention of the God of Armies, and not a pure Violence and a manifest Breach of the Right of Nations, following the suggestions of the God of this World and of the Prince of Darkness, T' use expressions of the Bible. Book I.

'Tis true then, That a Priuce ought not to Draw his sword, but when Justice puts it into his hand, nor Handle it, but under some form of Honesty and shew of Conveniency. 'Tis also true, that h' ought not to confound what is Honest and what is Profitable, because they are not the same Things, nor blend two Distinct qualities, as some of th' Ancients and Moderns have Done. Th' occasion of growing Greater, and the facility of Conquering, ought not to tempt a Prince, unless he may Inlarge with a Good conscience and Conquer Lawfully. Such a Moderation will be esteemed more Coragious and Magnanimous than any Act of valour, and no Victory can be so Fair and of so High a price as that which is gained upon himself.

But to depart from general Termes, which are too Wild and Indefinite, and to descend to particular Considerations, which are more instructive and pressing than the general. In the second place, I say, That care is to be taken not to judge of the justice or injustice of an enterprize by th' Event, or to call it Bad or Good as it shall prosper and have the Winds Propitious or Contrary. Let him Observe with Aversion th' Expression of that sottish *Spaniard*, who following the party of the Commons raised against *Charls* their King, writ to a friend of th' Adverse party; That the gain or loss of the Battel, to be fought the next day, would declare, who had the Right of his side, and that the Mark and Reward of the Justice of the good party would be the Victory. Let him abhorr th' Advice th' Admiral *Chastillon* gave to the Prince of *Conde*, To make no Difficulty of breaking the Treaty, whereby he had obliged to go out of the Kingdome.

If the *Sirs of Guise* Retired from Court of purpose to charge the Kings Army, which they had laid asleep, with th'hopes of Peace and Confidence in their promises, would the Victory make his Cause honest and his Armies just? and all other Justice ridiculous if it fell to the King, and all other Reason vain? If that be true, as it may be true, and if *Davila*, who reports it be not deceived, It were rightly to understand *Machiavelles* Maxim, Not to be wicked at Halfes; And to know how to satiate Malice: It were some what more than to

Book I. sew the Foxes to the Lions skinn. It were not to make Warr in th' Ordinary Way, but with poysoned Armes ; 'Tis then a prefixed point and a Constant Maxim of the Moral and Politique, That as a true Measure cannot alwaies be taken of the Prudence of an Enterprize by the Good succeſs, ſo true Judgment can never be made of th' Honeſty of an Action by the Good ſucceſs, nor the Juſtice of a War by the Victory that may Crown it.

In the third place, I ſay, As there's no War of ſo ſtrong a Neceſſity, and that hath th' Outſide ſo ſpecious, as when Piety is joyned in it to Juſtice, and th' Altars Defended in maintaining our Intereſts ; To Intereſs God in theſe Deſigns muſt be avoided, unleſs he be truly intereſſed ; As to imitate *Ferdinand* of *Caſtille*, who did much Worſe than take Gods Name in vain, for He ever Employed it to give Colour to th' Evil which was beneficial to him ; And his fears had been very much troubled to palliate their Ambition and Avarice, If there had been no Religion, Infidelity or Hereſie in the World : It ought not alſo to be believed, as ſome have perſwaded themſelves, or Endeavoured to perſwade Princes, That the goodneſs of th' End, to the Glory of God, or the Salvation of Souls, can rectifie the Means, which are Ill in themſelves, or that the Venome or Malignity of a cauſe, is Corrected or tempered by th' Antidote of a Good and profitable Effect, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

In the fourth place I go on and ſay, That though a Hearty Submiſſion is to be given to th' Authority of them, whom God hath placed in th' Higheſt Adminiſtration of Religion, and in th' abſolute Direction of Conſciences ; They muſt not, nevertheleſſe, b' obeyed in all things, as they do not pretend unto it ; nor believe, that they can give Licenſe to do Ill, and diſingage us from th' Obligation of the firſt and ſecond Right of Nature. If *Ladiſlaus* King of *Hungary* had reſiſted the Legate who perſwaded him to break without Cauſe, or without other Cauſe than Conveniency, the Peace made with *Amurat* Emperor of the *Turks*, He had not permitted himſelf to b' abuſed by that pretended Power, which the Legate aſſumed, t' untye the knot the Right of Nations had tyed ; He had not loſt his life at *Varnes*, with the loſs of the Battel ; And *Amurat* had Reaſon, when in the midſt of the Fight and Heat of the Charge, the Victory ſeemed t' Incline of *Ladiſlaus* ſide, to call *Jeſus Chriſt* to the puniſhment of a Crime committed againſt him, and to chaſtiſe th' Infringer of a Treaty, wherein his Name was uſed to confirm it. If *Henry* the ſecond had followed th' Advice of the *Conſtable* of *Mountmorancy* and of the *Marſhal* of *Briſac*, who perſwaded him t' obſerve the Truce made with th' Emperor, which the ſuggeſtions of the *Sirs of Guiſe* and of the Dutcheſs of *Valentinois* diverted him from, under the pretext that the *Pope* had given him a Diſpenſation for it, He had not Expiated that Infraction by th' unhappy ſucceſs of his Armes within and without the Kingdome, and by that Long and Heavy chain of Evils, wherewith *France* was after fettered.

Religion

Religion is not descended from Heaven to destroy the Virtues she finds on Earth, or to Demolish Society, the most admirable Work that Reason hath brought forth, in over-throwing Faith its first foundation and principal Basis; That, if she forbids Commerce sometimes and Communication with Infidels and Heretiques, 'Tis when that Communication may be Contagious to th' Understanding, and Dangerous lest th' Errors and Vices be transmitted and pass Joyntly with the Things permitted. And this is not so much a new and positive Right, which Religion hath Introduced, as that Ancient Command of the Right of Nature, *T' avoid th' occasions of Evil*, which she renews; or rather, 'tis that vast and unlimited Command which she gives and applies to a particular Use and to a certain Matter; But though the Generation of Men be since torn in pieces by beliefs and customs, yet General Laws are left unto them, and a common Right; and since Infidelity or Heresie impede not Soveraigns from being Lawful Lords of their Estates, nor Particular Persons to be proprietaries of their Goods; and by consequence, that th' use of Commutative and Distributive Justice b' equally open, and the Commerce for Temporal things, whereof they have need amongst themselves, permitted to all Princes and to all People, *To Christians and to Infidels, To Catholiques and Heretiques*, The Catholiques, as making profession of a more Heavenly Doctrine and of a more Innocent Life, are obliged t' observe more Inviolably the Laws, and to maintain more Religiously the Privileges of their Nation than any People; To give no example of Infidelity and Deceit, which the Wicked may rebound upon Religion, and to make that fair Evidence of the sanctity of their Beleef, to shine alwayes in the sincerity of their Actions. Not to sink too deep upon a Matter, which I handle fully in another place, I will content my self in relation to what I have now said, to place here this Argument; To declare the Necessity of Keeping faith with Heretiques and Infidels; as that with all them, with whom treaty and commerce may be had with a good Conscience, Men are bound in Conscience to perform things promised, when the Treaty is made, without fraud and violence, and without Just fear, which falls into the Souls of Valiant Men, and leaves them but a Lame Liberty. This Conclusion streams so naturally and necessarily from its Principles, that there's no Need of other proofs t'Establish it, not of other Lights t' Evidence it. Book I.

And yet, as there's no day so Fair, that is not over-cast with some Cloud; so this Truth so Cleer and so Comformable to Reason, hath been exposed to th' Art of Sophisters: But who knows not, that this Depravation of Judgment hath proceeded from an hot and blind Zeal, which many times ceiseth upon the greatest Doctors? or from a base and prostitute Compliance to the wills of Princes, who would not stick at Perjury, If it might serve their turn, but would not publickly appear in it, lest it should Disgrace them; so, this Doctrine truly, which came into the World but by Chance, hath not appeared by

Book I. by day, but by the violence of some causes, which have thrust it on, and hath ever disappeared with the causes that produced it. And St. *Lewis*, whose Piety cannot be questioned, but by impious persons, was not strucken with remorse, when he had treated with the *Sarazens*; And they that make use of such means, would be very sorry the like were offered them: As they who have conceived, though falsly, no better thoughts of the Truth of the Religion they profess, and believ'd it was permitted them to do the like in their time under the same pretext; The force and weight of this consequence shall be examined at large in another place. If to this truth it be objected, That what is promised to Men, obligeth not more strictly, nor ties a more indissoluble knot, than what is promised to God, wherein, 'tis certain, the *Pope* may dispense some occasions for important causes: it may be answered, That the Pope may do it, and may discharge th'observation of the Vow of a good thing for another of a better condition or equally good; But in this He doth but discharge his Charge from God, by virtue of his General and Particular Commission, to seek always what is most for his glory, and for the greatest good of Souls; he doth but manage God's Interests; but aid in setting a value upon the Talent of the Faithful, and to be the good Husband and prudent Dispensator of the Benefits and Graces of his Master, whereof the Bible speaks.

That to change a thing of small, for a thing of greater price; 'tis to gain always by the Exchange, and to receive what is superiour in value and goodness to what was quitted; 'tis to be a good Steward for God, t'Accommodate himself to the Necessities of Souls, and t'exercise a reasonable Indulgency; 'tis t'observe th'Intentions of his Master, and the sweetness of his conduct; 'tis to act the disposition of that generous Creditor, wh' exacts not in rigour of his creatures what they owe him, but grants them always the composition they desire of him, and demands no more of them than what they can pay him conveniently, and without violence. But as to the Rights and Interests of Heretiques and Infidels, they have not, as the World knows, constituted the *Pope Master* or *Arbitrer* of their concernments; wherefore he cannot ordain or dispense any thing to their prejudice in matters of Treaty, confirmed by mutual Oathes, and of common Right in th'affairs of Civil Commerce and Temporal Policy.

I pass from this Matter t'another, wherewith 'tis naturally enchained, and say in the fifth place, That Religion alone, whether it be for the planting of it in places where 'tis not known, or for the defence of it in States where 'tis persecuted, cannot be the foundation of a Just War. That if the Writings of some holy persons are fill'd with Exhortations to Christians to take Arms against the *Turk*, and if the Predicants endeavour every day t'enflame them with that holy zeal; If *Popes* have heretofore published *Croisades* for that subject; And if the greatest Princes of *Christendome* did Enroll themselves,

selves, and have raised for that purpose great Armies; It must not be believed, it was done directly t'Exterminate the Sect of *Mahomet*, and t'abolish th'*Alcoran*, that Arms were taken up; or that it was to constrain the wicked persons to change their Religion, or to force Christianity into their spirits by the sword: That is much estranged from the condition of our Religon, and very contrary to th' exercise of the Primitive Church, which opposed patience onely to force, and permitted no other blood, but the blood of her Children to be spilt, when it was oppressed, as shall be declared in another place, where the proofs of the second branch of the Proposition proposed shall be produced. 'Tis then to the Limits of the Temporal Interests, that the War against the *Turk* is chiefly restrained; 'Tis directly against the Power of th'*Ottomans*, and not against th' Errors of *Mahomet*, that *Christians* draw their Swords, and for their Commission they have Right Valuable Titles; Th' Usurpations made of the fairest Members of their Empire, and the spoiles of so many Estates, wherewith the Tyrant adorns himself, are subjects which put it out of question, that they may Lawfully Arm to Recover their Losses, and to Recollect the Pieces, which are taken from their Interests: And 'tis his constant design, and his Religion by a perpetual Vow binds him to labour the Destruction of Christianity; and the spirit of that barbarous Religion, adorned onely with Rapines and Murders; with the Proscription and Confiscation of the Lives and Estates of all them, who are not of their Judgment, do give a just power to *Christians* not onely to defend themselves, when they are assaulted, and to resist the storm when it Beats on that side, but also t' assault, and to prevent, if some other Consideration do not oppose it. That if the Course of the War and the Lot of Arms make it sometimes necessary for a Christian Prince to conclude a Peace or Truce with the *Turk*; He ought Legally t'observe Conditions, so long as the *Turk* observes them on his part, and to make no breach, if th'other do not begin or prepare to break. But if the *Turk*, who keeps his Soldiers in Exercise, and his Men of War in Action, and coasts the Countries of his Neighbours to gain some prey, doth rush upon the State of a Christian Prince in Confederacy with the *Turk*, any Christian Prince may relieve him with a good Conscience, and Act Lawfully against the *Turk*, without being a Violator of his Faith, or Desertor of his Word; For, besides the Duty of Charity, and that generall Obligation, which the Right of Nations Imposeth to protect the Weak against the Strong; 'Tis Matter then onely of Defence, which is ever permitted, though it be Indirect, and ceaseth not to be Just, though it be Anticipated. And to speak the truth, what else doth a Christian Prince, in repelling the Violence made t' another Prince, than prevent what is prepared against himself? Than make haste to Quench the Fire which burns his Neighbours House, before it lays hold on his, and assists to make Rampars and Barricadoes against the Sea, which might over-flow his, after it had drowned the Country

Book I. Country of his Allies? But whilst the Design of Ruine repoſeth in the *Turks* breaſt, and that th'Execution of the Vow is ſuſpended, the Conditions of the Treaty made with him ought inviolably to b' obſerved, without the leaſt infringement of the Zeal of publick Commerce, and of Faith, the principal Bond of the Civil life.

'Tis eaſie t' infer from what hath been ſaid; That Chriſtians in general have but too many formed Subjects, and too many prepared ways t'Enter, when they pleaſe, upon a juſt War againſt the *Turk*; and there's great cauſe of Aſtoniſhment, as I have obſerved in the firſt Diſcourſe, That inſtead of turning their Arms againſt an Enemy that is not leſs Powerful than Irreconcilable, they convert them againſt themſelves; they thruſt them into their own bowels, and make themſelves drunk, if it may be permitted t'uſe that Poetique boldneſs, in the blood of their Brothers.

Fifth Diſcourſe.

That the Defence of Injured Reputation is the ſubject of a juſt War; Wherein that Reputation conſiſts; That the King could not with honour avoid breaking with the Spaniards, *who had cauſed the Town and th'Elector of* Treves *to be ſurpriſed, being under his Majeſtie's Protection.*

'Tis not to be conceived that the defence of a Country, whether Direct or Indirect, in the Manner as it hath been circumſcribed, ſhould be the ſole Title of making juſt the Arms of a Prince; There are alſo other Titles and other Conſiderations which put Arms Lawfully int' his hand; There are other wounds t'heal, and other breaches to make up, than the Ruine of his Subjects; th' outrages acted againſt his Honour are to be revenged, and the ſpots wiped off which are imprinted upon the Reputation of his Crown, as one of the Pillars which bear up his Greatneſs, and therefore to be carefully preſerved from Blows, that it fall not in contempt. But in regard ſome may equivocate upon this word Reputation, and take upon that occaſion a ſubject of dangerous conſequence; it may not b' unneceſſary to clear and diſtinguiſh it, which may be done by a very eaſie diſtinction, and in a manner is already declared.

'Tis certain then, that there are two ſorts of Reputation peculiar to States, and which may be ranked in the number of Goods that belong to them; th' one conſiſts in th' Eſteem which the ſtrength of a Country hath gained from abroad, and in the glory of it; this is formed of the Merit and good fortune of the Prince; of the Number and Virtue of his Subjects; of the Duties of Subjection, and of the Rights of Soveraignty; in th' Extent and Situation of the Country; in the Fecundity of Mines; in Fortreſſes, and Arms, and Ammunitions

munitions of War. Th' opinion then which streams and flows from these things and other the like in the spirits of Men, Is the Reputation I speak of, and whereof no question is to be made, but that the Prince ought to be very Jealous of it, as of a thing which sometimes is of great Consequence, when his forces are weak, and which some have compared very aptly to the credit of Merchants, which maintains them in honour and lustre, though they b' effectively poore, and gives them often Means to fill up the Concealed emptiness of their affairs, and to repair the weak Invisible condition of their fortune; But when a Prince is wounded in this kind of Reputation, and his Forces are cryed down; when His prosperities are lessened, and disgraces Encreased; when Endeavours are used t' obscure this Lustre of greatness and force, wherewith th' Eyes of Strangers ought to be dazled, and to draw a Curtain before th' Exteriour face of his Affairs; 'Tis not the subject of a just war; The reason of it is, that Strong Remedies are never to be used but against Extreme Evils, nor Violence acted against accidents that may be Over-come by Industry; There ought to be some proportion betwixt th' Arms of Resistance and those of Assault; When the combate is made by the forces of Wit, there's no Reason to bring the forces of our Body for defence; False Reports are scattered abroad to our disadvantage; Make the Truth shine in all places, which is contrary to them; Vigilancy and Ingenuity need not fear such Artifices, and the designs of our Enemies will have a chance answerable to that of Mines, which do no hurt, if Vent be given them. Book I.

But there's another kind of Reputation and another sort of Honour, wherein the Prince ought not to suffer the least decay, but pursue a Reparation with Armes, if it may not otherwise be had, when offended. To speak it in a Word, 'tis the Dignity of the Crown, and th' honour of Soveraignty: There are certain Privileges and Prerogatives, which the Right of Nations have fastned unto them, that ought not to be touch'd without Resentment, or Violated or slighted without opposing it by force; Injury, for example, done to an Ambassadour, whose person is Holy and Consecrated by common Right, and by consent of all people, and of all Ages, is the subject of a Lawfull War; And *Francis* the first cannot be blamed for breaking with *Charls* th' Emperour by reason of th' Assasinat of *Rignon* and of *Frigose*, his Ambassadors, whom the Marquis of *Gast* had caused to be Murdered, and could never have justice, in what posture soever he put himself to Demand it; The Breach of a Treaty, which is the mark of Disdain thrown at a Prince, or of the small consideration had of his Country, is another Title of just War; That if the Persons of Ambassadours are Inviolable, and ought universally to be respected, because they are the Living Bonds of Commerce, and th' Animated Instruments of the correspondency of Princes; By the same Reasons Treaties which are th' Inanimate Seals and dead Impressions of that Commerce and Correspondency, ought to be holy; and the breakers

Book I. thereof corrected with the punishment the Right of Nations permits to be inflicted; And as one of the Princes will take advantage of the violation of the Treaty th' other promises to perform, so by a necessary Consequence th' other must receive Dammage, and that Right and faculty is obtained thereby to take reason of that Injury with the sword in th' hand, if it be not given Civily and in a friendly Manner. It may be seen by this, That the War which the King made to Duke *Charls*, is no Unjust violence, nor the Conquest of *Lorraine* an unjust Invasion, since it hath been drawn on himself by the violation of many Treaties made with *France*, and who can take it ill, if he have not lost all sense of good, and the Taste of all that's just, That what was left in pawn and for security of a thing promised, should be forfeited, when the promise is not performed; and the deposite Detained when the condition for restitution is broken? But I purpose to Treat fully of this Matter in the second part, and t' undraw the Curtain which I d' here leave, at least if the condition of the time permits it, and prudence adviseth it.

Observe another Essential point wherein Reputation is offended, and for which Armes may lawfully be taken in hand, and War made. 'Tis to redeem a Prince from vexation for the hatred is born us, and because his Interests have some Conjunction with ours. The King had just cause to defend the Duke of *Mantoua* by his Protection and Arms against the design of the *Spaniards* to strip him, even for that Reason, that he was born the Kings Subject, and that they could not suffer a *Frenchman* to be a Soveraign Prince in *Italy*. How deeply the honour of *France* was Wounded with that stroak, and what shamefull Reflection was made by that Attempt upon the Dignity of the Crown, There's not a person but may judge of it without Explanation. There's not a person if he be not altogether blind with passion for *Spain*, that can approve of their project t' establish in all places their Dominion and t' extend their Monarchy; They shut the Door into *Italy*, and forbid Entrance to the *French*, what Justice soever opens it, and what Right soever calls them thither. And they who Take at all hands and Usurp on all sides, will not permit the true and Lawful Masters t' Enjoy their Lands, or gather what belongs to them, if they are friends to *France*. The Reasons the King had, are remitted to another place, and th' other Motives which excited him t' Espouse the protection and undertake the defence of the Duke of *Mantoua*.

Honour obligeth also a Soveraign, besides other duties which may invite him, to make the protection given to a weak Prince to be esteemed, and to cause the Sanctuary offered to an unfortunate Prince to be respected; I will explain this proposition by an Example. After that the late King of *Swede* was Entred *Germany* with that Extraordinary success which accompanied his Virtue, and that He had taught the House of *Austria* to know that it was not Invincible, and had astonisht it with the blows received from th' hands of a Conqneror; Its greatest Care was t' avoid a Ruine, and as in a wrack to get some

planks

planks whereon to save what remained of goods and hopes. The King wh' alone could put a bridle upon th' Ambition of this brave Prince, and Resist the Tempest which threatned the Catholique friends of that disconsolate Family, offered them his Royal protection, and the shade of his Authority, without which there was no Safety nor Recovery for them. Book I.

Th' Elector of *Treves* beleeving He was not bound to perish with them who probably could not save themselves, nor hinder him from falling, but to fall onely for Company, accepted of his Majesties protection. After that, who makes question but the King in honour and Reputation was obliged to defend th' estates and the person of that Elector from all th' Enemies Excursions, and to turn also his Armes upon the *Swedes* in case they did not consider as they ought his protection, but should violate his safeguard? And in truth the King was so Religious in this behalf, that He considered not what was Profitable in comparison of what was Honest, nor the good of his Affairs in comparison of th' honour of his Word. That his Majesty entred upon some Coldness with the *Swede*, when he delayed the satisfaction was desired, and to restore a place the King was obliged, after the *Swedes* had taken it, to cause to be rendred to th' Elector. That if the King had reason t' use such a proceeding in favour of his Allyes, and t' hold forth to them some Little Rigour upon that occasion; 'Tis visible that he had cause upon Stronger terms of Justice and Duty to break with them who gave such Advices, and Lent their Armes not only t' undertake upon th' Estates of th' Elector of *Treves*, but also t' attempt upon his Liberty, and to make a Prelate and a Soveraign Prince their Prisoner, with whom they had no cause of dispute, nor had offended them, and against whom they had not declared any War; What can they allege to sweeten this Violence? and what playster can they find to disguise and make plausible so heinous a business? If it were for the Love of us, and for the protection we did grant him, that they opposed an Innocent Person, It must be confessed that the hatred they boar us was not onely very Implacable but also very Unjust, since it labours to kindle a fire and exhale Venome even out of our good Actions which are not opposite to them; since it cannot permit us to Protect them whom they could not Relieve, and secure them as shelter against the storm wherewith they were first beaten; since they deny us even the duties of Charity, which flow from the Right of Nature, and would take from us all sorts of correspondence with other Princes, and even the power of doing good offices.

It being thus, I leave it to the Judgment of the free and unpassionate Reader if they or we in this have begun the Quarrel, Who were the Breakers of the peace at *Vervins* and the first Authors of the War; Have they not done the same things, as if they had broken th' Express clauses of that Treaty, when they have violated that for which ther's never any Treaty, and which is sufficiently understood

Book I. without being put into a Treaty; that one Crown ought not t'attempt against th'other, nor offend it in the person of them it protects and shadows with its Authority and Arms; since they have not respected our Allies, and what the Peace of *Vervins* laid Quiet hath been Inviolable in relation to them; Can it be said, that they have not been the beginners of this Quarrel? that they have not lighted the Torch of the Dissention of the two Crowns, and begun the War by Surprises and Robberies which have been continued openly upon us, and after declaration of it? If they do remember the Moderation of our Conduct, and the Favour shewed, that was not less than of Life, to th'Imperial Troops which had surprised *Heilderberge*, they may see, that we have always avoided with great care to Break with them, who have no Love for us, and having no fear for the Forces of our Enemies, have always apprehended the Ruines of the War, and the Deluge of th'Evils that attend it; That if they will say, they have not immediately assaulted us, and did not directly undertake us, and that they looked onely upon th'Elector of *Treves*, whom they had right to chastise for departing from the protection he was bound to receive from th'House of *Luxumburge*, whereof they are Heirs, and for repairing to a forein protection, which is a kind of Disobedience; That 'tis the Crime they have pursued, and their offended Honour they would repair at the Charges of him that was culpable; Observe truly the Foundation which bears and sustains all the Justice of their specious Cause; behold the Pretext wherewith they do palliate it; behold the fair Colour wherewith they do paint it: There's nothing nevertheless easier than to ruinate that foundation, than to destroy that pretext, than to rub out and deface that colour; for when it shall be true, as they say, as 'tis not, and that there were no Example, as we are assured there is contrary to what they pretend, that th Elector of *Treves* is under the protection of the House of *Luxumburge*, which they have annexed to theirs; dare they deny, when that protection is unable to defend it, and the Fort not so well guarded as to secure it, but that 'tis lawful to repair to a more Powerful protection, and to seek a stronger Sanctuary? Doth a first protection exclude a second? Is there but one Sanctuary open against persecution? and may not Society be made, and an Intelligence formed betwixt two good things of the same Nature? The City of *Geneva*, hath it injur'd the Canton of *Berne*, and wounded the Dukes of *Savoy*, when it sought ours, and put Her self into Harbour and under the protection of this Crown? Did the King prosecute and pursue to violence the Duke of *Mantoua*, for obtaining the protection of the *Venetians*, at the same time he did enjoy his Majesties? And have the *Venetians* made War with him, or Incursions into his Estates, or Invasions upon his person, for having so often implored the *Pope*'s protection? And there's nothing more compatible or more sociable, than a permanent and ordinary protection with an extraordinary, which doth not continue, but passeth and ceaseth with the danger

that

that procured it; And a Prince is very Unhappy, or very Imprudent, who is reduc'd to a single Expedient of Conservation, which may fail, and to get out of a croud and violence of affairs, knows but one Issue, which is not always Free, and hath but one Gate whereof he is not always the Master. Book I.

But since the Safety of the People is the Soveraign Law of Governours, and that other Laws of States have neither spirit nor life, but what is derived to them from that Principal; who can imagine that a Prince had made a Treaty, by the which He had bound himself to perish, as often as another Prince had not the power to protect him, and should embrace a Dependency, by which he renounced all the means of providing for the Conservation of his Subjects, which should oppose the pleasure of th'other Prince? Such and the like Treaties should be rather Prodigies and Monsters to be exterminated out of the Politique, than valuable and lawful Acts that had proceeded from the Authority of Princes, which is not instituted to destroy and to demolish States, but to divert the fall, and repair the ruines. I add to this, that the word of Protection sufficiently declares, what th'operation and use thereof ought to be, and having the safety chiefly of Estates, and good of the persons protected, for its Mark and End; It ceaseth to be what it was, if it falls into Impuissancy, and if it hath not force nor vertue to conserve and to defend; It changeth its kind, and passeth into another Nature contrary to hers, if it become a principle of Ruine to them whom it ought to serve for relief against ill fortune, and if it degenerate into Poison instead of being a Preservative.

Let's conclude, Since th'House of *Austria* was not in a condition to warrant any person from th'ill weather wherewith it was beaten, and that even they who were Embarqued in the same Vessel with her were in danger to be lost, if they did not quit it, th' Elector of *Treves* did not offend th' House of *Austria* in making Addresses to *France*, that was his onely safe Haven to secure him from a strong Wind and an angry Sea; I say further, That He did not onely an action of Duty towards his Subjects, in diverting by our mediation th'infallible desolation which hung over their heads, or an act of Piety towards the Church, in securing by our means th'Holy Places and Sacred Persons; but hath not a little merited from th'House of *Austria*, if it were capable of some sense of Acknowledgment, and would be sensible of a good Turn, by hindring his great and formidable Adversary by his fore-sight and address, from growing greater by the Conquests of those Estates, and to make a dangerous conjunction of the *Rhyne* with the *Mosselle*, and at the same time t'extend his Arms into *Flanders* and *Germany*; And therefore let the World judge upon these true and pertinent Facts, if that Elector hath deserved th' usage he hath received for his love to us, or whether the King could pass by such injuries without resentment, and declaring a War to them, who have so highly offended in the person

of

Book I. of one of his Allies, and in the sight and knowledge of all *Europe*.

This Example, and many others which I shall speak of in their place, will make it clearly appear, that the King did not engage in all the Wars, wherewith miserable *Christendome* hath been vexed for many years, but for the protection of the weak against the stronger; and that th'House of *Austria* by its untameable Ambition, hath broken the Bands of publick Concord, and kindled the fires, whose destruction it may feel, as well as any other House, before its burning be quench'd; God alone knows, what Event shall be of so many Armies raised, and where th'agitation of so many provoked Nations shall determine. But the King ought to have this satisfaction and rest of conscience, that he hath not been th' Author of these lamentable troubles, but hath done his Endeavour to divert them, spared nothing to stop them; and having laboured much, and taken much pains t'establish and settle the tranquillity of his Kingdom, Had not a livelier and hotter passion than to procure th' entire felicity of his people, and to see that peace flourish he would have given them, by th'abundance wherewith he had crowned it, had he been Master of the Hearts of Strangers, and Arbiter of the Destiny of Things.

Sixth Discourse.

That a War ought not onely to be a Just, but also Profitable for him who undertakes it; Some Rules, which Princes should observe when they relieve their Allies.

AFter Discourse of the Causes, that make a War Just, and handling of that Thorny Matter, that hath, yet, some need of culture, which may be given it in its proper place; The Profit of a War must be handled, which is th' other Condition that ought t'accompany a War, and without which a Prince ought not t' engage, though it should be, not onely full, but filled up with Justice.

It follows not, nevertheless, that this Profit ought to be present and sensible; nor is it in th'order of things to Reap in Sowing, nor that the first Prescriptions heal a sick person, or that a Picture be finish'd at the first Draught: God alone, in giving the first stroak, can give the last hand to his Works, and finish in beginning; yet, he hath not always done it, and he made use of six days to create the World, and to produce and publish the pieces of that Marvellous Frame.

As for the Works of Men, Time and Patience are necessary before th'End can be obtain'd; there are many degrees to clime before they can get to the Feast, and ordinarily 'tis with them as with those of Nature, where the Generation of the most Excellent things, is but the sequel of a precedent Corruption; It sufficeth then, that it be a future

future Utility, to th'end it oblige t' act, aud that it be known for Book I.
such: not with Infallibility and Certitude, which appertains onely to God; But so far as one may judge of it by the disposition of Second causes, and by the Rules of Civil prudence, which is all that can be required from the conduct of Men, and from the chance of this Life. Th' Advantages which ought to return from the War made in favour of Friends and Allies, and from the Relief is afforded them, shall be here treated of; as for others, either there's no difficulty in them, or what shall be said of this may clear the Troubles that be in it.

I will give thee some Rules then, which will discover to Princes the ways they ought to take, and the Rocks they ought t' avoid, when they engage in such Aids; The first Rule is this, That th' Utility they ought to pursue and propose to themselves before they take up Arms in favour of their friends, ought not to be Mercenary; not of the nature of what Merchants seek for their Traffick; th'ultimate End of their Ambition, and the principal Object that stirs up their Industry, is the Encrease of their Riches; they hazard Little to gain Much; they do like the Husbandmen, who sow not onely to recover their seed, but to multiply it; and 'tis not, to shut the door of their house upon Poverty, that they labour, but t' introduce Abundance; The Reputation also of able and intelligent Persons in their profession concerns them not, or very little, they think onely of being Rich, and Profit makes up all the Glory of their Exercise, and all the Price of their Industry. There have been Princes in all times, who have acted in that Manner, and have been possest with that base passion; that the greatness of th' Object and Enormity of th'Evil, have caused to be called, Illustrious; but they that are enflamed with the Love of true Wisdom, and with the Desire of a fair Reputation, ought to sail with another Wind, and take a very different way.

Let this then be a constant and indubitable Principle, That a Prince ought not to be perswaded to take Arms in favour of another Prince by the spirit of Avarice, and by a greediness to grow Greater at his charges, t'enrich himself by his Spoils, and to keep the Securities, which th'other Prince hath put into his hands for assurance of his faith, or to serve him for retreat; If that were modeable, no person would be found, that had not rather try th' Hazard of Arms, and runne of the Fortune of Wars, whose Events are doubtful and uncertain, than expose himself to th'infallible Loss of all his Estates, or of a great part of them. That as there's no question but the Wounds received in the heat of the War, and from an Enemy to whom one doth the worst he can, are less offensive and grievous, than those that are received in Cold blood and from a Friend; so the Losses received from them, who ought to secure us, are of worse taste and of harder digestion, than those occasioned by such persons, as have declared the War against us, and have undertaken to ruine us. And the late King had reason, after th' *Arch-Duke* had besieged *Calais*,

and

Book I. and the Queen of *England* had sent to offer him her Sea-Army upon exorbitant conditions; to refuse that relief, and to command it to be told her, *That he had rather his Enemies should strip him than his Friends.*

By this Artifice, the *Romans* have partly marched to the Conquest of the World, and from People that made War against one another, they possessed the Country of him who call'd them to their aid, and subdued th'others Country; 'tis by that means, the miserable *Grecians* finished their destruction, and that their divisions and disorders delivered them up to the ambition of that People, who found no better Expedient to determine their differences, and t' extinguish their partialities, than to take from them the power of Quarrelling, and to deprive them of their Estates, which were the subject of all their hatreds. 'Tis with this pernicious Artifice, and deceitful Charity, that th'House of th'*Ottomans* hath seized upon some Members of th'Empire of Christians, and caught into their Nets the faireſt part of *Hongary*. The passage of Protection t'Usurpation, is so pleasant for the Conquerors, and their Limits so near, that the most Religious stick not at leaping over them, and to confound the two Actions, in distinguishing of them onely by Name, and giving the shadow of difference for what in effect is but the same thing. In Christendom a Family is to be seen struck with the same disease, the design of Monarchy, as th'antient *Romans* were, and th' *Ottomans* are of this time, that hath marched, to th'uttermost of their strength, upon their steps, and plaid, among Christians, the like game; Their custome hath been to take part in all affairs, and to run to the least noise of discord they hear amongst men, and to the least flame of diversion that appears to them; they never observed a Neutrality whilst War was amongst their Neighbours, and considered not so much the Justice of the Party they made choice of, as the Means to gain by it, and thereby to get some Pawn to keep, or make a Conquest; their protections have been the impositions of many Yoaks; and where it hath not imposed a Subjection, it establisht a Dependency, not much lighter, and though less grievous, yet assured them who depended upon their power, and held them by as strong and indissoluble Bands:

There's no need of going out of *Europe*, or this present Age, to confirm this Truth, by antient and forein Examples; *Germany* and *Italy* have been the Theatres, wherein it hath evidently appeared in our time, and entred in pomp and glory. In two the most remarkable actions which have been there represented, a more illustrious example of this nature can hardly be seen, for the novelty of th' Incidents, and for the rarity of the Circumstances, which are there encountred, than that which hapned in the Succession of the Duke of *Cleves*, claimed by the Duke of *Newbourge*, who was protected by the *Spaniards*, and by the Marquis of *Brandebourge*, whom the *Hollanders* assisted. But in regard I have an exact and ample Treaty of this

this Affair in the third part, I send the Reader thither, to speak of a- Book I.
nother Example which *Italy* hath furnisht ; after that the succession of *Mantoua* and *Montferrat* fell to the Duke of *Nevers*, against which the *Spaniards* planted their Batteryes, and did their uttermost t' exclude him ; T' attain then their End and t' hit their mark, They made use of a double Artifice, and planted both pieces in Battery ; The first, in stirring up the Prince of *Guastalde* t' intermeddle with that succession, and t' oppose an Apocryfal and Imaginary pretension to the Cleer and indubitable Right of the Duke of *Nevers*, They Endeavoured, if what was published then in *Italy* be true, to raise even a Bastard of the precedent Dukes, named *Yacinthe*, to make him Engage in the Quarrel, in purging him from the Viciousness of his birth, under pretences that had some Colour, but which Justled directly a Constitution of the Council of *Trent* received in *Italy*. But Lets leave the business of *Yacinthe*, t' hold us to that of *Guastalde*, which admits of no question, as publisht to th' Eyes of all *Europe*, and raised a scandal, as far as *Constantinople*. The second Artifice is, That they abused the Name and Authority of th'Emperor to Compel the Duke of *Mantoua* to put his Forts in Depositе into th' hands of a Commissioner, who was their subject, till th' Emperor had declared his Judgement upon that difference, and done Right to th'interessed Parties ; That's to say, to give time to the *Spaniards* to form a Multitude of Incidents and of Tricks to stretch and perpetuate the Matter in Contest ; That the Length of the pursute, and despair of the success in a Court where the Parties were Judges, might force the Duke of *Mantoua* to Consent to their Will, and to yield a visible Title of Justice to a pure Oppression and an effective Violence.

The design then of th' Ayd they offered to *Guastalde*, or that he, if you will have it so, had implored from them, did not extend to the raising him to the Soveraignty of *Mantoua* and *Montferrat* ; But to make themselves Masters of *Casal*, and to deliver themselves of the Jealousie that Fort gives them ; and from th' Apprehensions it gives to the state of *Milan*, for which they have so much Love and Tenderness ; And that their Injustice might reign in all parts, and be dilated as the soul, in all the body of that affair ; And that there might not be Principal or Accessary, but should taste of its venome and of some Tincture of violence ; 'Tis to be Considered, that before *Guastalde* had attempted this Action and formed his Complaints at th' Imperial Court ; whilst the Prince of *Mantoua* paid there his necessary Duties on his Fathers behalf, and made his requisite submission ; Whilst they gave him fair Words and Hopes at *Vienna* ; When the greatest part of the World believed, That th' Emperor offended not Willingly, but of Ignorance, and that he Was not Easily induced to do it, but under the Species of good, and would not oppose the Right of the Duke of *Mantoua* ; The Governour of *Milan* ruined the *Montferrat* with an Army, and was within Little of taking *Casal* b' intelligence of a Treaty, which he had long practised

Book I. for the buying of that place; They ſtaid not there, but having hoiſed ſail to the Wind, they were Engaged to purſue their Navigation, and to try the Concluſion of that Courſe with honour which they had begun with ſo little ſucceſs; when they ſaw their ſtroak fail; That the war might be drawn int' a damageable Length and gain in th' End nothing but ſhame and diſpleaſure, the Rewards of unjuſt Enterprizes, when they are not happy; They Cauſed other Mines to play, and preſſed the Duke of *Mantoua* t' Accept a Recompence for *Caſſal* in the *French* County or in *Cremonois*, not Comprehending therein the *Citadelle* of *Cremona*, That's to ſay, That of an independent and abſolute Prince, as he Was in his Country, They would have made him in another Countrey their Subject or their Dependent, and offered him in Exchange, a Limited Revenue, and Lands liable to be taken at all hours, for a Soveraignty above price, and a fortreſs almoſt Impregnable.

And the great preſſures they have ſince made, and th' Extream Heat they have ſince expreſſed to put a value upon the pretences of the Princeſs of *Stigliana* to *Sabionere*, was not to leave her the free diſpoſition of that place, But to keep it under her Name, and to make it ſerve as a Bridle and as a Citadelle to three or four Neighbour-ſtates, in the midſt whereof, 'tis Incloſed; Did they not alſo in a ſtrange Manner protect the Prince of *Monaco* 'gainſt the pretenſions and Deſigns of the *Genoeſe* to that Principality? And in What did that protection at laſt Terminate but in an heavy and ſevere yoak which oppreſſed him, and compelled him to ſhake it off, to caſt himſelf into th' Arms of a more juſt power and more humane domination? Such and the like Examples, which I could bring in great Number, make a ſufficient Diſcovery of the Genius of that Nation, and of the boundleſs Avarice, which tranſports them openly to Ceize upon other Mens Lands, or with ſubtilty to Enter upon them by a breach or poſtern gate.

Seventh Diſcourſe.

The ſecond Rule which a Prince ought t' obſerve in Relieving of his Friends.

THat notwithſtanding, what hath been ſaid; A Prince that undertakes a War for the Love of his Neighbour may Lawfully pretend t' a Reemburſement of part of his Charges, If the perſon whom He relieves hath ſufficient Means, and may take Cautionary Towns for the ſecurity of his Diſburſements, or for the Retrait of his Troops, or for Engagement of the Faith and Conſtancy of his Neighbour: For truly, 'tis very juſt, That who ſpares not his own blood nor the life of his ſubjects to ſecure his friend from ſervitude, ſhould find Him liberal of the goods and ſubſtance of his ſubjects to preſerve

preserve in some sort his Protector from damnage, and pay willingly some of the Charges for the Remedies that save his Life; My meaning is, in Case it may Conveniently be done, and that th' estate relieved hath not been so much plundred and emptied of victuals and Riches that little remains for life and sustenance, and that the least Emanation would serve to make it yield up the Ghost and force it to th' Extremity of th' Evil against which it took up Arms; Otherwise, th' Aid given Would not be so much a civil Charity, as the Supercery of a Robber and of a Pyrate. And by killing the sick person to draw away his disease. When Matters are in that Condition, a Prince ought to Content himself with the glory that shall rebound upon his Name and Conduct in protecting his Neighbour from oppression, and with the benefits that redound to his states in breaking the designs, and hindring the growth of an Ambitious Master, wh' having devoured the Meaner, would infallibly thrust at the greater persons, and respects his first victories but as Means and bridges to pass him over to new Conquests. Book I.

I say the same, and for the same Reasons of those States that have but one fortress, wherein all their safety Consists and all their hopes; It may be received and kept till th' End of the War, as a bridle and a security for the faith of him to whom the Relief is given, but not to be retained after the Peace, for the Charges have been laid out to Conserve and hold it; for that were t' exact the life of a Man, for having furnished him with Victuals, and speaking generally, To seek th' End for the price and Reward of the Means which have been Contributed to produce it. And the Prince ought to secure t' his power the Land and goods of his friends Subjects, Whereof he is not Proprietary but the Dispensor and Steward, and is bound to husband them with more Circumspection and retention than his own Lands and Goods.

'Tis then an Act of singular prudence and a Maxim of subtle policy to take hold of some important place for security of the Moneys that shall be Lent and advanced for th' Affairs of Allyes or Friends; The *Venetians* have often practised this prudence, and many good pawns have remained in their hands for Want of Redemption, and and th' Owners have been at last Constrained to pass unto them the Revenue and Inheritance. So did Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, when after the Defection of th' *Hollanders* from their Obedience to *Spain*, she relieved them with Money and Men, and received *Flushing*, *Brill* and *Ramachin* in depositе, till she should be reemburſed of the moneys lent them, which did not happen till the Reign of King *James*, her successor. 'Tis to b' ignorant of King-Craft and t' offend shamefully against th' Art of Reigning, not to demand places for the Retreit of his Troops in case of Disgraces, and to want an Haven for Harbour, when the Wind is Contrary. The Necessity of this is Entire and inevitable, to retain by that Bond, and hold with that Anchor, the Will of them, who are relieved, lest they Change and

Book I. faulter after Engagement, and leave us to the mercy of Winds and Waves, and Accept without our Consent Advantagious Conditions that may be offered them, in fear of our Armes, and to disingage them from our Allyance. The *French* have often struck against this rock for want of Care, and have fallen into these Ambushes for want of foresight ; It cannot be believed, how often their facility and excessive freeness have drawn infidelities and Defection from them, who did not seek our Protection or implore our Aid, but t' agree with their Enemies to greater advantage, and to make at our charges and under the shadow of our Armes a more Honourable peace. This Unhappiness happened twice to *Henry* the second, and *Octavius* Duke of *Parma*, whose defence the King undertook against th'Emperour and the Pope,who would have reduced the Duke to his shirt, made his peace with them without his Majesties knowledge and participation. And in the League which *Henry* made with th'Elector *Maurice* and th' other Confederates of *Germany* against *Charls* the fifth ; The King having intelligence of their Treaty of Accommodation, and seen Evidences thereof, which th'Elector contrived t' our Disadvantage, was compelled to decline the faults he had begun in accepting of Ostages, instead of Places,and to ceize upon the City of *Mets*, with the consent of the Bishop and people, as shall be discovered in the Treaty of Monarchy, for his security against the *Germans*, who came to fall upon him,and to stop the Torrent was ready t' over-flow his Kingdome.

The present Elector of *Saxe* a most Worthy Branch of *Maurices* Blood,and a true sprout of such a stock, did not degenerate from the faith of his Parent ; For hee did not onely imitate by the peace of *Prague*, the supercery that was done us, at the peace of *Passau*,but the Coppy surpassed th' Origina!, and without finding such advantagious Conditions as th' others were ; He did not onely abandon the two Crowns, which had spilt so much blood, and consumed so great Treasure for the Liberty of *Germany*, but conspired against them,and Consented to fight them, who Laboured Earnestly to Deliver the Captives from the Chains they seemed to be in Love with, or to compel them to Happiness who had not the Courage to be happy ; However, 'Tis certain,that the fair peace of *Prague*, wherein th'Accepters of it believed to be secure without running the danger of losing themselves, as in the Continuation of the War they made to th' House of *Austria*, had not been concluded, if the two Crowns had not engaged in th' affairs of that Countrey ; And th'Emperor Had not Accorded unto them that respite from their ruine, if H' had esteemed himselfe powerfull or happy enough to resist at one Time their forces and Ours ; That if th' Interessed Persons are the better for it, and are at shelter from the Tempest they feared, they d' ow us th' obligation, which they have very ill acknowledged ; That if their Peace be Captious and unsetled,as 'tis,and if they have need,as there's no Question of a General peace, which is the seal of the Security and

Duration

Duration of particular Persons. 'Tis also from the two Crowns, they ought principally to receive that good, and 'tis from them that the Perfectest Cure ought to be made of the *German* body, Instead of those Lucid Intervalls, which particular Treaties do produce, and of those deceitfull Recoveries which give Ease for some time to the sick Person, but take not away the Cause nor the Root of the Disease. 'Tis for this Reason, that they Act with so much Contest and Heat; that they raise such great Armies, and support so great an expence; and they may be assured that Armes will never be laid down till the Work b' Accomplished; That they have not made so great expences to lose them; And How painfull soever the Cariere be wherein they are ingaged, They will never stay till they have past through it; And either all Apparences are false, or the time is not far off, and *Christendome* will very shortly see a Discovery of the good it desires, though it have yet some Convulsion fits to suffer, and the Light it expects, will quickly appear, though it hath also some shadows to disperse, and Clouds to dissolve. Book I.

Th' Easiness spoken of hath not been pernicious to the *French* alone but also to the *Dutch*; They have been also mistaken in their March into this Kingdome upon the single faith of its Confederates; And if that Prodigious Army of *Reiters* which marched to Over-run our Nation under the Conduct of the Duke of *Bovillon* and the Baron of *Dona*, had surprized some strong place; It had not been so ill handled, as it was, in its Retrait, nor Feasted the plains with so many Dead bodies, as it left there; It had been at least admitted to Capitulation for the safety of its Return, and for a part of the Money which had been promised in rendring what it held to its Lawfull Master.

The Queen of *England*, of whom W' have already spoken, was much better Advised, and her Conduct more prudent, when she would not open her Purse nor Command her Army t' enter *France* in favour of the Prince of *Conde*, Till, h' had put *Havre of Grace* into her power, and delivered up that famous Haven, to give her Entrey at pleasure into this Kingdome. 'Tis true, That I cannot excuse the pretence, whereby she seemed to receive it, nor approve of the Declaration she published, That it was not to break Amity with the Kings, with whom she desired t' entertain a good Correspondency, that she had Commanded it to be taken; but to take it out of th' hands of his Rebell Subjects, who might keep it t' his prejudice, and to Conserve it for him, during his Minority, and till he might Act personally in his Affairs, and hold th' Helm of his state in his own hands, which was handled by persons who were not, as she said, Prudent enough or Well enough disposed.

This Playster was too gross, and this Masque too visible to Cover and disguise so visible an Usurpation, and the Councel of the King had reason to declare her fallen from the Conditions of the Treaty of *Cambray* in Relation to the business of *Calais*, since sh' had violated

Book I. lated it in aiding the Rebels t' his Majesty; and that sh' had been the Receiver of places, which they had taken from him. The Duke of *Savoy*, Grand-father to the present *Duke*, endeavoured t' exercise the like Charity towards *Henry* the Third, and render the same good Office to the Crown, when h' had seized upon the *Marquisate* of *Saluces*, for fear, as He said, lest *Esdiguieres* should prevent him, and untill the Troubles, which troubled us, were appeased, and that our Civil Tempests were allaid. The late King paid him that Charity, as a Debt of the Crown, so soon as h' attained it, and made him see, that Great Princes know how to force Little Princes to b' honest in spight of their subtleties, and t' ease them better than any Persons of the world, of th'Obligation they are under to make Restitution of unjust Acquisitions. The Method then spoken of, and for the Reasons alleged, to require places, hath been at all times familiar with Princes, who know how to Reign, and particularly with the *Spaniards*. But if the Duke of *Parma* demanded no place, the first Incursion he made into *France*, and marched to secure *Paris* from th' Armies of the late King, without seeking any place of Security for his Retreat, but in the Forces He commanded; it was for a more important Reason; 'twas to blind the world by that shew of Liberty; 'twas to leave an Impression that his Master sent him, not to fish, as 'tis said, in our Troubles, and to make benefit of our Disorders, as many murmured within and without the Kingdom, but onely to drive away Heresie, or at least t'hinder th' Ascent of it to the Throne, where none but the True Religion ought to sit, as He made a solemn Oath in the great Church of *Meaux* in the Name of King *Philip*. But he drew not long that breath of Generosity, and could never be perswaded to come to the Relief of *Roven*, till the *Fere* was delivered unto him and put into his Custody, which assured his Entry into the Kingdom and his going out. As to the rest, the sequel of time and course of affairs made it appear, that *Philip* made him take a false Oath, and had deceived his General to make him deceive others. The Duke of *Sessa* declared it sufficiently at *Rome*, when He could not hinder th' Absolution of the late King, nor his Re-union to th' *Holy Chair*, the Center of the Church; He protested against it, as prejudicial to the Pretensions his Master had upon *France*, and the Charges expended to conserve Religion, and expel Heresie. It was therefore to the *Spaniard* an extraordinary Case, and an Exception to their general Rule, which they seldom break; as the proceeding of the Duke of *Parma* in his first Expedition into *France*. For they have such an unsatiable Appetite after other mens Goods and Lands, and are so violently transported with that Passion, that they have not excepted th' *Holy Chair*, even at such times as they made a shew to relieve it. In th' Heat of th' Interdict at *Venice*, and when the Marquis of *Veillane*, Ambassador at *Rome* for the Catholick King, had oblig'd the *Pope* to cast himself into th' Hands of his Master, and t' accept of his Protection, amongst the things he demanded of his Masters behalf

half for the Relief He promised him, which was but in Paper, and for that Evidence of Good, which was but in Ostentation; what He most insisted upon was, that *Ferrara* should be delivered t' his Master for the Retreat of his Army by Land, and *Ancona* for his Army by Sea; and the Count of *Fuentes*, who breathed nothing but Fire and Sword, and was the principal Promoter of the Troubles, had the boldness to demand *Charbonnieres*, of the Duke of *Savoy*, who was not interressed in the Quarrel, as he said, t'hold the Key of the Passage by which *Esdiguiere* might descend to the Relief of the Republique. Book I.

Eighth Discourse.

That the Conduct which the King hath observed in the Relieving of his Allies, is full of Moderation and Generosity; That the Conduct of some other Princes of this Age is not the same.

THis Subject may be wonderfully cleared and beautified by the Relation of the Conduct which hath been observed by four different Princes of this Age in the Relief of their Allies. The Manner is very different, though it hath been exercised upon the same Matter, and in the course of the same business, the troubles of *Germany*. Though there was no Power in *Christendom* unintereſſed in that affair, and that did not represent some Person in that famous Tragedy. 'Tis certain, that the King of *France*, of *Spain*, of *Swede*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, have appeared in them with more glory than others, and that their Policy was not less eminent than their Arms. But search being to be made in the third part into the most secret Motions, wherewith these Princes have acted, and what their Cabinet-Counsels have infused, of the most particular and remarkable considerations in that long and sharp War, I will beseech the *Reader*, to suspend his curiosity to that Edition, which shall follow this immediately. And we shall see, that *Spain* never moved but upon the same foot, and never sailed but with the same Winds of Ambition and Particular Profit; That the *French* motions have been sometimes Slow and Irresolute, and sometimes Quicker, and directed to the General good of the Christian Common-wealth. But that the publick good was always its principal Mark, and th' ultimate End proposed in its Interventions and Arms.

As to the King of *Swede*, He could not truly with better Judgment or Symetry adjust the design he had formed for the Relief of *Germany*, and to take off the grievous Fetters th'House of *Austria* had imposed upon it, Th'Innate spirit of a Conqueror considered, or to make his spirit serve the Relief under a more specious and plausible conveniency. Consider him then in this High and Difficult Exercise, from his Landing in th'Haven in the Island of *Usdome* to the Plain of

Sutzen,

Book I. *Sutzen*, where he loſt his Life without leaving the Victory t' his Enemies, who took his Life from him. The boldneſs of his Treaty with the Duke of *Pomerania*, t'eſtabliſh himſelf in his Country, ſhall be repreſented, the valiant Artifice h' uſed to cauſe *Spomdau* to be put into his hands by the Marquis of *Brandenburge*; And after that *Tilly*, a famous Captain, was entred with ſtrong hand into the Countries of the Duke of *Saxe*, and had promiſed to that *Elector*, unleſs he would be of the Party, t' expound unt' him the myſtical ſenſe of that ſaying, familiar with *Charls* the 5th, *Wh' is not with m' is againſt me.* Conſider the Prudence the King of *Swede* made uſe of in this occaſion, by raiſing advantage from th' inevitable Neceſſity th'Elector of *Saxe* had of his Virtue and Fortune, againſt ſo fortunate and great a Captain as aſſaulted him.

At laſt after that by gain of the Battel at *Lipſick*, and by the Defeat of th' old Troops of the League, H' had forced all th' Obſtacles, and taken away all the Barriers, which hindred to penetrate into *Germany*, and th' Imperial Cities opened unt' him their Gates at conteſt, and the Princes of th' Empire crowded to b' on his ſide; It ſhall be ſeen how he gave them the Law, for whom he gained Liberty, and impoſed a kind of yoke, which in time would have become heavy, and began to be born with jealouſie. This kind of Policy truly is not the cuſtom of all Princes, and enters as ſeldom into the Train of th'affairs of the world, as it ariſeth rarely from Conquerors, and from thoſe extraordinary Perſons, who come as the King of *Swede* did, to change the face of things.

As to the Duke of *Baviere*, this praiſe is not to be denyed him, That being skilful in th'Art of making War, he gave not place t' any Prince of his Age in the Science of the Cabinet Councel; and that *Germany* hath not born of a long time, more dextrous and knowing Perſons, to give Motions to thoſe ſecret Wheels and inviſible Engines, which ſtir and cauſe to turn, what is moſt Heavy and moſt Immoveable in th'Affairs: And ſince his Art and manner of Acting may be reduced more commodiouſly into Practice, and drawn int' Imitation, than that of the King of *Swedes*, a longer and more particular ſtay ſhall be made upon his Conduct, than upon that of the King of *Swedes*; and all the Draughts and Proportions for th' Inſtruction of other Princes and their Miniſters of State; the divers Perſons he perſonated, and the different faces wherewith he diſguiſed himſelf t'attain his Ends, and to maintain the poſture gained by his Induſtry, ſhall be fully diſcovered; how he raiſed himſelf to th'Electorat, and maintained it, notwithſtanding the *Spaniſh* Jealouſie, th' Oppoſition of *England*, the Contradiction of the Proteſtant Electors, and the Reſiſtance alſo of th' Imperial Conſtitutions.

In giving frequent Jealouſies to th'Houſe of *Auſtria* by th'Hold he ſeemed to take of *France*, and then joyning more ſtrictly with th' Empire, and tying the knot of their Conjunction the ſtronger t' his advantage, H' often prevailed over it; H' holds the power of it

to

to this day, without being holden by it, and hath so blended his In- Book I.
terests with theirs, that he can sever them when he pleaseth, and that he will do, when 'tis no longer good for him, or that it will be better in another place for his affairs.

When he was delivered by the death of the King of *Swede* of the greatest danger h' had run, and of the most furious Tempest that ever threatned him, He believed, that h' had no cause to fear any future ill times, and to speak the truth, so long as th' *English* were content to make Generous Deliberations, and to send Magnificent Embassies in favour of the *Palatine* House, it would not b' easie for that *Duke* to part willingly with what h' had received, not to depart with, but by th'highest violence of ill fortune; and the Necessity must be strong, if he could find no means of delivery from it, and all the Gates strongly shut upon him, if he did not escape at some Postern door.

As to *France*, to speak again one word thereof, and so permit some Draughts of her proceedings to pass by; it shall be represented entire and wholly, such as it stood in the divers occurrences of the Troubles; She will appear in their Birth and Progress as Mediatrix of the Quarrel, and Cause of the Conclusion of the Peace at *Ulms*, which had re-established th' affairs of *Germany*, and restored to th'Empire its first Countenance, If they to whom it served for shelter and plank of safety, had not broken it, and oppressed by surprise them, who believing themselves out of danger by the conclusion of the Treaty, and under the shadow of publick Faith, were unprepared for defence. Since that time, its action at *Languy*, and its Cares, have been faint in the behalf of *Germany*, and the Cabinet Contests, to which the frequent changes of the Ministers of State did ever contribute some obstructions to their resolutions, and the fire which the factious Religionaries kindled easily in its bowels, hindred the relief, till the *Mantouan* War was ended; then truly it began to return with warm thoughts and cares; and th'Experience gain'd in *Italy*, and the present constitution of things, having given her t'understand, that the Septentrion Wind was onely to b' apprehended in relation t' her self and Allies, She resolved t' assault the Spring of th' Evil, and to set, as 'tis said, th' Ax to the root of the Disorder, and t'act vigorously in that behalf, and to make its first attempt eminent in the Dyet of *Ratisbonne*; And that as *France* knew to make use of th' occasion of the King of *Swedes* entry into *Germany*, whither the Princes of that Country, suffering, or fearing oppression, had call'd him; as since of the Treaties that *Charnasse* made at *Berwalde* with the King of *Swede*, even to the Renewing of th'Alliance with the *Swedes*, which *Sir* of *Avaux* made the year before at *Hambourge*; so she hath t' admiration, and with great dexterity managed two Interests. The first that most possest her spirit, was that of the Church and Holy things, which it espoused with hot and constant zeal. Whereupon I dare boldly say, that I hope to make it appear, there,

Book I. and in other places, *That the true Reasons of State do not justle the Maxims of Religion*; and that the same Authority which hath put a distinction betwixt the Secular and Ecclesiastick Powers, would have them bound up together in Amity, and their hands stretched out to th'aid of one another; That a wise Prince ought never permit their Harmony to be broken, nor the bounds, which sever, to be confounded. In the troubles of *Christendom*, and mixture of Parties of different Religions, which tear it in pieces, the King had not onely the care to put in safety the Catholique Interests, and to secure th'Holy Places and Sacred Persons, against th' Enterprises of such men as might have violated them; but his Conduct may be found less prudent, since for his Love to the Church he'th sometimes quitted th'advantages, which he might have assumed with a good conscience, and was firm for the good of Religion in all things, where he might have safely taken his Liberty for the good of his Affairs, had he not strongly believed, that the small prejudice he did himself would be plentifully repaired by God, who suffers not a glass of water given in his Name to pass unrewarded; and would not onely accompany with his Blessings the justice of his Arms, but also crown his Piety and the Passion had for the things which relate unt' his Service; And to consider the Greatness and Number of them, which he had undertaken, and the long course of Affairs which had entertained him, It may be truly said, That a Prosperity less interrupted hath been seldom seen, nor a Reign that hath received from Heaven more propitious and favourable Aspects.

I dare alsʃ affirm a second Truth, which adorns the Kings Reign with a particular Glory, and promise to make it out clearly, That w' have not onely made faithful Societies with our Neighbours, but protected th'interests of them, whom we were bound to protect; and have exceeded our Limits, and in some Cases, the King may b' accused t' have been Indulgent to the Business of Strangers, and too little sensible of the Necessities of his Subjects; were it not, that from the Good of his Allies Success, he makes an inevitable reflection of Good upon his own Affairs, and that in diverting the loss of his Neighbours, he conserves the Borders of his Country, and hinders th'Invasions of his Enemies; And were there no other Reasons, than that th' Evils and Sufferings of his Subjects might the sooner determine, as the Seeds of a permanent Prosperity, and to re-build the Temple of Peace, which was shaken, and trembled for fear of Ruine; it was necessary, that the War should precede that Holy and admirable Edifice; That in the Tragique and Common Misery which makes *Christendome* to groan, the King hath this Consolation, That the Guilty are the sole Authors of unjust Wars, and that the Firebrands are justly punish'd, but such are not to be condemned who suffer losses in the flames. But God and the World know, the Defaulters in the Quarrel, which at this day do exercise *Christians*; that the King engaged in it as an Assistant, and if his good Offices and

Prayers

Prayers had been able to resist the Violence which acted upon his Allies, h' had never drawn his Sword to defend them. And I will shew, that although all *Christendom* may witness, and his Allies taste the fruits of his Labours and Charges for their safety; since He was compelled to procure it by his Arms; He may be blamed with too great a Retention, and with too slow a Resentment for th' Injuries received in their Person, before he could resolve to repell them by force; He may be blamed, I say, for it, if the fear of avoiding and drawing upon his Subjects the Consequences of a War be blameworthy, or not willingly to descend int' an Abysse, from whence there's no ascent at pleasure, or to take the Flayl of Gods Anger in hand, whose stroaks fall without distinction upon all sorts of persons, and strike down equally th'Innocent with the Nocent. Book I.

The *Reader* will excuse, if he please, this light Digression, which may not be disagreeable to him, and this little Interposition, which may give him some taste, and serve him for an Essay of what is prepared for him in abundance and bounty in the Sequel of this Work; And that he may judge of th'Equity and Freedom of the King's proceedings towards his Allies, whom He defends and protects, I will here say a word of his Generosity in the behalf of one of his Neighbours, whom h' had obliged t' his Power to be's Friend, wh' hath not omitted any Acts of Hostility against the King, and to render him all proofs of Hatred; and though he was engaged in many formed Conspiracies against *France*, and that it had no secret or publick Enemy, with whom He'd not declared or had Intelligence; and though he was guilty, as all the world knows, of breaking many Treaties, and of many Attempts made against *France*; yet so soon as he made shew of Repentance, and t' abjure the contrary Party, the King opened his Arms unto him, and re-established him in his Estates, with exception onely t' a few Fortresses, which the King would not commit to the Faith of so changeable a Prince, and to the flux and reflux of th'humours that perpetually agitated his Soul; That if this Prince was hardned in th' habitude of failing; and if th'acknowledgment of good received, nor hope of what was promised after the War, could retain him in his Duty, nor stop his moveable Spirit, there's great cause highly to praise the Kings Moderation and his magnanimous Spirit, in rendring Voluntarily what he might Lawfully have kept; And there's no cause t' accuse him of Facility and Imprudence, for being deceived, for that he made judgment of the *Duke*'s Conduct by the Law of his Interest, as the most certain Rule to judge by, that Prudence affords; And there was no reason, that a Person in good condition, and in a way to be better, should destroy himself in a capricious humour, and chuse rather t'Erre once more at the pleasure of another, and of Fortune, and float in th' Incertitude of what He might become, than to rest in a Commodious posture, and enjoy a Safe condition.

Moreover, 'tis of no use to dissemble or to speak but half the

Book I. truth; Th'Event contrary the Presumptions raised, though very reasonable, have not deceived the Kings fore-sight, and the Defection of Duke *Charls* did not surprize him; but shut up betwixt two Extremes, to run th'hazard of being deceived, or the reproach of the rejection of him, who did cast himself at his mercy, and implored his clemency, He judged it more honorable for him t'expose his Judgment to the first, than second Hazard, and to convince the world by such an infallible evidence, That he could submit t' any thing in order to Peace, and for remove of th' Impediments that did obstruct it.

Ninth Discourse.

Whether it b' Expedient t' hazard the Remains of the Forces of a State, to Recover Reputation lost by some Notorious Disgrace; That 'tis not safe t' act alone, or to permit all things to be done b' others in difficult Enterprises.

THings being thus established, as they have been in the former Discourses, a Scruple is to be taken away, and a Difficulty cleared, which enters into the Matter to be treated of, Whether to repair the Reputation ruined by some infamous disgrace, and th' Honour abused by some notorious loss, The Prince ought t'oppose the fortune that oppresseth him, and put all his strength to resist the Ruines of the Violence, and t'hazard what remains of the Wrack, rather than conserve it beaten with ill fortune, and covered with shame. That which most sharpens this Scruple, and gives most colour to this Difficulty, is, That the Reputation of th'Affairs of State ought not to be less dear to the Prince, than Honour is t' every Particular honest man; And yet, since all agree, that the Wise as well as th' Ignorant conspire in this Judgment, that Honour is a Good which must be conserved, when 'tis gained, and recovered when 'tis lost, at the charges of Life, and that 'tis better to die Honourably than to live Infamously; Why should not the same Judgment be made upon the Reputation of the State? And will they not believe, That a Prince is obliged to maintain it, and to recover it without any exception of Means, and without reservation of Lands or Lives?

And it may b' observed, that the Reputation now to be spoken of, is different from the two others, already spoken of in the precedent Discourses, and 'tis of another value, and of another importance, than the first, whereof mention hath been made, which consists in the sinister Reports scattered b' Enemies, and in th' ill favour they raise against the glory of a Prince, and to the disadvantage of his Affairs, which is not, as hath been said, the Subject of a Just War; though the like offences done to Particular persons, and the like stains imprinted upon their honour, are but to' often the foundation and original of their Resentments and Quarrels; which makes

makes it appear, and I will say this by the way, That this sense of Reputation and Honour, wherewith the most Excellent Men of all Countries, and of all Ages have been touched, and which they 've not only Authorized by their Precepts, but also Confirmed by their Examples, Cannot proceed but from a Spiritual Nature; And this Privilege, which our Soul hath to raise it self above the Matter, and to despise not only the sensible objects which flow from it, but Life it self that Depends upon it, to subsist by that which is not born, but in the thoughts of others, and Conserved only in their memory, sufficiently shews, That sh' is of a more Exalted Spirit, and hath a fairer Birth than the souls of Beasts. To return to th' Objection made, I say, that there's a great Disproportion and a Notable difference betwixt th' Honour of a Particular person and the Reputation of th' Affairs of State; That in the State, Reputation is a subaltern good to the real force, and a Means, which hath for its End the most Essentiall powers; That this is th' Health of the body, whereof th' other is but the Colour, and that agreeable Light, which appeares without, from the good Constitution within, & darts into th' Eyes of the Beholders; And 'tis of the same Concernment to a Prince, as I 've formerly said, what Credit is to Merchants in order t' effective Riches; And therefore, as what is Superiour in any order is never abandoned for what is Subaltern, nor th' End for the Means, which are Constituted for its Accomplishment; As to destroy health for beautifying of the face, and t' hazard all our Lands to maintain our Credit, would be Condemned; so a Prince would offend most shamefully against the Laws of Civil Prudence, and be not only a most unjust dispensator, but a very ill Husband of the Powers of the State, to deliver them up wholly to Fortune, and t' expose them wholly to th' uncertain and unfaithful Lot of Arms; To support the sinking Reputation of Affairs, or to raise it when 'tis fallen to the ground, all he can do in General, and what he ought to do, if he be dextrous for th' Interest of the Reputation of Affairs, 'Tis t' Imprint in Men a great Opinion of his Virtue and Fortune; To give as much as he can Relief and day to the good Successes shall befall him; And t' Imitate *Romulus*, whom *Titus Livius* commends for his Admiral Address and Incomparable Grace in giving Value t' all his Actions; And to raise it in the least part of his Greatness and Power. What Advantages will arise to the State from such Apparances dextrously managed, and from that light dispersed Artificially abroad; What great Respect and Confidence in Friends these superficial things created from Opinion do produce, cannot fully b' expressed, and t' Enemies of Reservation and fear; As of what great Importance 'tis, to sick States, for preventing th' obstructions of Recovery, and of Restitution t' Health, That it be believed they are in Health, and have also Forces for defence against Assaults, The two Principal parts of the Greatness of a State. But when Power and Reputation meet in Conjunction, and that some Notable Diminution of th' one, or th' other is to be suffered; 'Tis better

Book I. better endured in the last, which may alwayes Spring again, and retake its Glory, so long as the first shall subsist, but cannot long survive the Ruine of th' other; nor stay long above ground after its fall; And truly, 'tis not a New thing or Extraordinary to see Vicissitudes in the Reputation of Princes and States; There's nothing more frequent in the World, and there was never State that hath not suffered some Eclipse, and been Assaulted with some Ill success, that hath interrupted the Course of his Glory; But there may be a Resurrection when the Fall is on that side; A spot Imprinted in the Reputation of Affairs, is not a Spot that cannot be taken out; The first Considerable good Fortune that happens doth Efface it; And a Tree, which Winter hath stript of its Leaves, and left Naked, renews in Beauty and Flourisheth, as before, if it thrust out other Leaves.

But it seems that some Corruption is permitted in that part, That a fairer Generation may put forth; And 'tis certain, that the Glory of the *Romans*, was Livelier and more Entire, in that the Victory, after the loss of three Battails, and the sight of *Hannibal* at the Gates of *Rome*, remained unto them upon the *Carthaginians*, than if they 'd stopt them upon the Borders of *Rhone*, or at th' Entry of th' *Alpes*.

The Defeat of *Quintilius Varus* by th' *Almans* was not s' infamous to the Reign of *Augustus*, as the Revenge which *Germanicus* took, was honourable to the Reign of *Tiberius*; The Virtue of the Republique of *Venice*, was more admired, and did Dart out fairer Rayes, in their Return from the greatest stroak it received at *Gyradade*, Than if it had not received it; and in rising to its Ancient greatness, than if it had not fallen. And without flattering of the Kings Reign, and the present Administration, It may be said, That if it hath sometimes hapned, yet but rarely, that some small storm of Disgrace hath fallen upon the Long Prosperity that accompanied his Armes; And if the Commanders have not alwayes Happily Commanded them; Fortune hath so ordained it, as well to conserve by those high Accidents the Right sh' hath upon all humane Actions, As to make the power of the State the better to be known, which was not shaken by shakings that had overthrown other States; And to make the Prudence, the Boldness, and Activity of the Conduct of the King and of his Ministers of State t' appear with the more Lustre and Glory; who alwayes made th' advantages the Common Destiny of War had given them, unprofitable to th' Enemies; who alwayes cut off the Wings of their Victory, and hindred them from Flying over the Limits of the same Field, where they gained it; And have so shut it up in the midst of a great Number of Good successes that preceded and followed on our part, That it may be said in some sort, that it hath Disappeared and vanished away, as if there had been no Victory. Before handling of th' other branch of Comparison proposed in the beginning of this Discourse, which is the sense of Particular Persons in relation to their Honour; Two other very Important Maxims shall b' added

added to what hath been already said in Relation to the Reputation of the State; The first, That there are some points of Reputation Ambiguous, or Contested, and some Delicacies of Honour not sufficiently Cleered, or which are Called in Question, whereupon a Prince or his Ministers of State ought not to Contest opinionately, nor to debate Violently, when there's no Question then made of it, and that some Affairs are to be Treated and Concluded, As a Peace, an Alliance of bloud, or a League, &c. For then Endeavours must b' used to slide upon them with Dexterity, and handle those Thorns without pricking the Fingers. Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* did the like upon the Contest that hapned at *Bologna*, betwixt the *Spanish* Ambassadour and Hers, for the Precedency. Th' Expedient found was to Treat by Writing, and by Propositions, and Reciprocal Answers. The same Moderation was observed in the Conference of *Vervins* betwixt our Ambassadours and those of *Spain*, Ours were lodged there in such a Manner, that w' had reason to believe, That the Right, Justice and the Prescription of Time out of mind had given us, was preserved unto us, and there remained to the *Spaniards* some Apparance and shadow, I know not what, t' hide and Cover the Disadvantage they had received in th' unjust Pretension that torments them upon that Subject, and entred into their Spirits with the design of Universal Monarchy. Book I.

But when there's no Cause to pass beyond it, or to labour for some Treaty necessary to the publique good; Great Care must be taken of the Byassed Men, and to lose Nothing of those Rights in matters of Importance; The Dignity of the State must not directly or obliquely be put to Reference, nor a Pretension of Equality admitted where the Superiority hath been gained. Such was the practice of *Pibrac* and *Ferrier* at the Council of *Trent*, who chose rather to Retire than t' Assist at a Ceremony, where Precedency before the *Spanish* Ambassadour was not fully Accorded unto them, nor their Dignity sufficiently acknowledged; And at the Wedding of the King of *Denmarks* Son some years past, *Sir* of *Avaux* the Kings Ambassadour to that Crown, Prudently Rejected and without Reserve, All the proposed Means that left in the least Jealousie the Precedency claimed by him without Difficulty and Modification, above the *Spanish* Ambassadour.

It must not therefore be forgot here; That there are sometimes little Delicacies and Formalities of Nothing, whereon th' Agents of Princes our friends do ketch, and for which they cause Disorders; And are the Cause, that whilst they amuze themselves in the Cleering and Debating of them, much time is lost to the prejudice of th' Affairs of their Masters. And that the secret Acrimonies which have taken Root in th' Hearts of those Agents, hold them alwaies divided, and occasion, that a good and sincere Correspondence is never formed nmongst them; That fierce and proud Spirits are subject to fall into these Inconveniencies, and particularly, when they begin t'

Act

Book I. Act, and at th'Entrey to their Imployments, they will publish it by some thing of Noise, and to gain Reputation by some Novelty, that obligeth the World to turn their Eyes towards them, and to speak of their Administration : But the Dextrous and Wise Men will divert, as much as may be, those stones of Offence, and avoid them, against which their Fortune may break and make Shipwrack; And to speak generally, they ought not t'Engage, if it may b' avoided with Honour, their Masters in any Trouble, but Conceive that they have business enough on Foot without making of New matters, and Quarrels enough that arise from th' Incounters and mixture of things they do Manage, without th' Interposition of any Evil Humours, or of th' Imprudent or Undiscreet Conduct of their Ambassadours.

The second Maxim is, That the Love of a great Reputation, or the desires of great Profits, ought not so strougly to Possess or Transport us, as in Difficult and Long Enterprises t' act All for to gain All ; And t' admit of no Companion ; To be free from sharing the Glory of the Success, or to Divide with any Person the Conquest, which they would reserve to themselves. On the Contrary, It ought ever to be Conceived, That in th' Affairs of Great Importance too much Safety cannot b' used to make their Business prosper, or too many work-Men hyred to fix a Design, a thousand unexpected Accidents may Cross, and which Fortune hath a thousand Inventions to Destroy, and to Convert into smoak. I should never finish, if I did report all th' Experiences the World hath made, and all th'Examples History relates of this Important Truth ; There's no need of going from the present Time, nor from th' Affairs of *Europe*, to find out Lively and Sensible Instances ; There's before our Eyes, what passed this year in *Germany*, which cannot be Newer; And to go a little higher, if after the death of the King of *Swede*, and the Loss of that Incomparable Prince, from whose Discipline did issue no less Famous Captains, nor in less Number, than from the Discipline of *Alexander* the Great, The *Swedes* had Acted with *France* in better Correspondency, Their good Successes which began to Decline in *Alsatia* by the raising of the Siege of *Constance*, and Blocking up of *Brisac*, had not expired at *Nortlinghen* ; And it had not been restored to the point of Elevation, where 'tis seen, without the perfect Intelligence now Entred into with this Kingdom. I pass by that Inordinate sense which strikes the persons of Courage to a contrary Apprehension, whereof the Wise are sometimes sick by too much Prudence; and the best way to draw the Figure of a Virtue perfectly, and to represent it to the Life, is to Consider that she is lodged betwixt two Extremes, and to be drawn by th' Opposition of two Contraries where she Confines.

There are Princes then to be found, who for staying too long from Declaring for a Party in Communication of Interests and Fortune, and in Contenting themselves by giving a secret Heat and a faint and oblique

oblique aid, see them at last fall; Whence it falls out, That they are bound t' oppose themselves alone to the progress of the Contrary party, and to the course of a Prosperity difficult to restrain, as t' hinder th' Over-running of all that should oppose it, and to stop its Impetuosity and Violence; This truly happens but too often; but if from the beginning, and when the forces of both parties were ballanced, They had Joyned theirs, to them they favoured in secret and under-hand, There's no Question but they had Carried it, and had made the Ballance to fall on the side they desired to have it fall. Book I.

I will explain my thoughts by a Memorable example. A Conspiracy was formed some years past by the Barons of the Kingdome of *Naples* against *Ferdinand* th' Old and the Duke of *Calabria* his Son, who acted Joyntly with his Father in the Government of that Country; The Duke of *Lorrain* by Reason of the pretentions he had upon that Kingdome, and the Pope to whom th' Ambition of those two Princes was in Jealousie, and their greatnesse odious, Joyned in the Confederacy. The Republique of *Venice* wounded with the Popes passion, and whom th' *Arragons* apprehended as the greatest obstacle and strongest Barrier to the Designes they had in *Italy*, would not, nevertheless, Embarque with the Barons of the Kingdome, nor Enter into the League with the Confederate Princes, but made Choice of a Temper, which prospered not, and of a middle Way, that at last was fatal unto *Venice*. The Republique discharged from their service *Robert of Saint Severin*, a Captain of great Name and of great Merit, and a part of those Troops, which she suffered him to take, and some Money she gave him under-hand to pay them, and t' hinder that great body of Men of War to dissolve till the Republique had taken party. I will say, on this occasion, That 'tis to be seen from hence, That this manner so much in use in making War, without declaring of it, and t' exercise Acts of Hostility, under the Vizard of Newtral Persons, Is not an Invention of these modern dayes, nor an Artifice peculiar to th' House of *Austria*, though they make use of it more than any other Princes; But it Comes from an Ancienter Date, and descends from an higher and older spring. In this Equipage then, and with this Masque, *Saint Severin* offered his service to the Pope, by order from the Republique, and was ordained chief Commander of th' Armies of the Church, and Principal Director and first Instrument of that War. But that which usually happens to the greatest part of Leagues, specially, when they are Composed of weak Numbers, happened to this; *Lorraines* Army marched late in th' year and out of season, during which Time the Forces of the Barons and of the Pope were ill handled, and th' Activity used by the Duke of *Calabria* in his March to find his Enemies, who were not half Ready nor Well drawn together, and the good success he had against *Saint Severin*, who left in that War a part of the Reputation gained in many others, suddenly untied that Chain and broke that League. The Pope was Innocent. 8.

Book I. very glad t' hear of an Accommodation, which was desired with heat by th' *Arragons* and the Barons, except the Prince of *Saleme*, who stood inflexible, even in ill Fortune, and chose rather to quit the Kingdome, than to Live under a Domination he hated, though others Laboured to return to the good Graces of the King and of the Prince.

The *Venetians*, observing that th' Effort of that League against th' *Arragons* had served only to make them the more powerfull, and that th' Engines framed t' over-throw, had re-inforced them, knew the Fault they had Committed in not being of the party, and after an unsuccessfull solicitation of the Pope and of the Duke of *Lorrain* to renew it, did resolve t' oppose singly the growth of *Ferdinands* power and of his Sons, and to put a Bridle to th' Ambition of those Princes which did over-flow without Measure.

This Consideration now represented, invites me t' another, which is not far off, and may b' annexed without Violence, That there are also some Princes, who loving too much their Ease, or fearing too much the Charges, will alwaies stand Newters betwixt two parties, that make War, and be immoveable spectators of their Actions; Though they have a Considerable Interest, That th' one fall not, and that th' other become not the Master. The Reasons wherewith these Princes, whom I suppose powerfull, do support their Judgments, and flatter their Proceedings, are these; That if the party who Labours for their Interests receives ill Entertainment from Fortune, and becomes assaulted with some great Disgrace, They shall come in time to relieve him, and that with the scattered pieces of their Overthrow, which must be Considerable, and with his fresh and Entire forces, shall not only make the Counterpoise of th' Enemies powers, aweary of their long Marches, and even tyred with the gained Victory, but be able also to reduce them to Reason, and Confine them to Limited bounds; That in the mean time they spare their Men, and make a stock of moneys Open to their Subjects Commerce, that will be Shut t' Others, and enrich them with their substance and spoyles; That if he to whom they desire good, obtains it, and have th' Heavens favourable and Fortune propitious, They shall Enjoy th' Effects of their good success, without Contributing any thing to it, and have their part of th' Harvest, without sowing of any seeds.

This truly, hath some shew of good sense, and is a specious Manner that hath Cheated some Politiques, who practise or Counsell it; As for me, I cannot Appprove of it, and what Colour of profit at first sight, it presents, or flash of Prudence it may Cast, 'Tis Certain that it ordinarily Conceals the Motions and Principles of a great future Ruine, and hides Evils, which do not appear, and are not discovered, but when there's scarce any Remedy; for, as 'tis, a kind of Injustice, and seems to justle the General Law of the World, to desire Goods without giving any thing for them, and to participate of the fruits of another mans pains and expences, without laying out any

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Of the difference betwixt th' Honour of Particular persons, and the Reputation of States; And whether the Prince be Master of th' Honour as of the Life and Lands of his Subjects when Publique Necessity requires it.

LEts Come now to th' Honour of Particular persons, and to that sort of Reputation, which is raised in th' opinion of Men, above all, that the greatness of Fortune can give, and the Matter and objects of the Senses, as most Acceptable can contain. By honour, I do understand, the glory which redounds, and the perfume exhaled from th' Exercise of Probity and of th' other duties of every particular Condition, which leave in the spirits of Men a good Impression, and an high esteem of him, who doth practise them. 'Tis the Civil life, exclusive to Beast, and whereby the Reasonable Creatures have a strong Inclination, and a violent Instinct to Live and t'Ennoble their ordinary and natural Being. This kind of life, as formerly observed, hath been in all times the passion of great persons, who have not only preferred it to Pleasure and Riches, but even to the Natural Life. The reason of this difference is; That Honour, being of th' Appurtenances of Virtue and of her ordinary Train, partakes of the Dignity of her Principle, and takes an Impression and Tincture of the same order with her, and of a Superiour value t' all that can be exalted in

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Book I. th'Empire of Fortune, and t'all that can b' attractive in the womb of the World.

I have said, that Honour is of th'Appurtenances and Train of Virtue, because there's not a Nation of so dull and gross intelligence, and of so barbarous and barren manners, that esteems not th'Actions of Probity, and commends those inviolable duties, which no Legislator invented, nor any particular Right hath re-establish'd; but a common Nature, and an universal Law have ordained to be rendred to God, to our Neighbour, and t'our selves; That, if in the corruption of the Manners of Society, and in th'unjust distribution of Recompence and of Punishment, Honest Men are loaden with shame, and the Wicked with glory; That Crowns are set upon th' Heads of Criminal persons, and Thunder broken upon innocent Lives; It doth not happen by a publick confession, or open profession made to disgrace Virtue, and give honour to Vice; to judge Vice worthy of Esteem and Veneration, and Virtue of Reproach and Ignominy; But that in effect, The Colours of th'one and of th'other are disguised and falsifi'd, and their Ensigns transposed; That in making War to Virtue, they seem to pursue Vice with violence, and to do honour to Virtue, when their labour is to erect Statues and Trophees to her Adversary; but there's no example that the most unlimited License, or the most imprudent Calumny of the world ever dared t'assault Virtue in her Name, and under Her Figure, or to procure it pain or shame.

Wherefore, since Virtue hath so much Dignity and Elevation, and that in this life 'tis th'Ultimate End of Man, and Crown of the Faculties and Operations of the Soul; 'Tis no marvel, if Men are not onely taken with her beauty, and the form that constitutes her, but are so sensible also of what toucheth th' outside, and is called *Honour*, that they prefer it t'all, that is not of its Order and Classis, and had rather suffer Natural Death, than permit the Civil Life to be wounded.

The Reputation of States, is not the same, whereof so often hath been spoken, and it proceeds not from so pure a Spring, and hath not so noble a Birth, as th'Honour of Particular persons: Virtue is not the sole Cause, as of th'other; The greatness of Successes, from whence it ariseth, is no lesse the work of Fortune, than an effect of the Merits of Men; Princes are as formidable for being Happy, as for being Valiant; And some Pagans have affected particular Commerces and secret Communications with some Divinity, to make their Victories the more easie by that belief; And 'tis certain, That th'Honour of Particular persons is preserved many times from the Wrack, which falls upon the Reputation of Publick Affairs. *Hannibal* lost nothing of the name of a Great Captain, when he was overcome by *Scipio*, though the Glory of *Carthage* was extinguished by that disgrace; The Prince of *Conde* marched full of Honour out of the lost Battel of St. *Quintins*, where so great a Breach was made upon the

the dignity of the French Crown; And th' Admiral of *Chastillon* boasted, a few days before th' Execution on St. *Bartholomew*'s day, That he had that Advantage of *Alexander*, and of *Julius Cæsar*, That the loss of four Battels, which had ruin'd or much weakn'd the Reputation of his Party, had not diminish'd the least of His Reputation. The proportion that may be found, and th' Adjustment to be made betwixt the Reputation of States, and th'Honour of Particular persons consists in this, That as the first is but th' Opinion derived, and the noise spread of their greatness and power, in the spirits of Strangers; The second also is but th'Impression received, and the fair Representation made of the Virtue and Merits of others; And again, as the Reputation of States, is less Considerable than the power, from whence 'tis derived; That the honour of Particular persons, is inferiour also in dignity to the Virtue, that is its principle; which carries me to a Consideration a little alienated from my Subject, but no stranger to it, That there's not any corruption which hath so strongly ceized upon Mankind, nor disorder, which doth more universally disfigure, than this; That though there be but a Few persons in the world, truly Virtuous, and that acquit themselves faithfully of the duties of their condition; yet there are none, but would pass for men of Honour, and are offended when they are accused for such, as they know themselves to be, and if False Evidences are not given in their favour. Book I.

Since we are thus far engaged in this matter, and entred into so fair a Field as that of *Honour*; it will not be amiss to make some progress, and t'agitate a difficulty upon this subject, eminent in the Politicks; Whether Princes are as well Masters of th' Honour of their Subjects, as of their Lands and Lives; And whether they have a Right to make them appear Culpable of some crimes, though Innocent, and to charge infamous disgraces upon their Reputation, though but a few persons are guilty of them, to discharge, from those crimes, the Princes Reputation, of so great importance to many persons. In th'Affair of *Antonio Perez*, which gave so great trouble to *Philip* the Second, and made so great a noise over all *Europe*; *Diego Chavez* Confessor to *Philip*, judged it expedient to sacrifize th'Honour and the Person also of *Perez* to shame and torments, to save the King's Honour, and to divert the dangerous consequences, which would have resulted against the State, if they believed him th'Author of th'Assassinate, executed by his order, and by the direction of *Perez*, on the person of *Escovedo*, Secretary to *Don John* of *Austria*.

This opinion nevertheless, seems not to me to be sufficiently grounded or coloured; And there's reason, that although th' Authority of a Prince over his Subjects be very large, and much dilated, yet not infinite, and receives exceptions, which limit th' extent of it; And as 'tis certain, that a Prince hath not a Right t'oblige his Subjects to violate the Laws of Probity, and to become Perjur'd, Sacrilegious,

Book I. legious, or Adulterers; so 'tis probable, that he hath not a right to requre them to disgrace their Name, and to defame their Memory with dishonour that ariseth from Crimes, much lesse t'expose them, for the salvo of his own Reputation, to punishments and torments, wherewith Criminals are punish'd; As *Perez* was exposed by th'advice of *Philip*'s Confessor. I conceive also, as 'tis unlawful for a King to forbid his subjects for any cause the duties of Probity, and th' exercise of necessary Virtues; so 'tis not permitted him, to deprive those Virtues of their esteem, being their first and natural Recompense, or to take from them the Lights that guide them, and the Beauty that adorns them, and gives them new graces t'improve their value, and to beget in others a greater Love and Industry. The foundation of my opinion is this, That Soveraigns have ordinarily no other power over their Subjects, than what their Subjects have transferred unto them; nor Right, but such as Soveraigns have received from them; 'tis probable, they did not intend to deliver up unto them the disposition of their Honour, as they submitted unto them their Lands and Lives; nor to disseise themselves, for the Love of Princes, of that fair Possession and rich Inheritance, which they derive and gather from their Virtue; 'Tis confirmed by this Consideration, which seems to me definitive, That the Goods and Lives of the People being committed to the protection of Soveraigns, and laid up in the benefits of the protection they owe unto their Subjects, and obligations to watch for their safety, and to preserve them from the Usurpations of covetous men, and from the force of violent persons; it was very just, that to acquit themselves of that Duty, and fill up that Obligation; they should be armed with the strength of particular persons, and aided with their riches, that it might be in his power t'imploy a part of them to conserve the rest, and t'expose a few lives for the security of a great number of persons.

But 'tis not the same with the true Honour of Man, and with that just Esteem, which accompanies naturally th' exercise of Probity, and th'other necessary duties of every condition; as it hath no need of the Soveraigns Authority to conserve it, but of the Causes that produce it, and is no more subject to the violence of a Tyrant, than to th'Empire of a just Prince, and without the intervention of the Laws, as having Laws that ordained it; 'Tis not, I say, a marvel, if for that consideration, as it enters not into th' End of th' Institution of Soveraigns, so 'tis not compriz'd under th'extent of their Power, and they have no right to sacrifize it to publick necessity, as the Lands and Lives of their Subjects, whose protection and safeguard they have undertaken, and ought to secure it unto them.

In pursuance of this, it may be demanded, Whether Particular persons ought to abandon their Honour for the Publick Interest, and permit it to be sullied by some villanous disgrace, to save the Princes honour, and the Reputation of Affairs; This difficulty, I avow, appears to me so great, that I dare not undertake to decide it, and that

on

on both sides I see so many Reasons, and to such equal force, that they ballance my understanding, and hinder me to take a Side; but I will onely say here, That I have admired in th' Instructions, the Marquis of *Bedemár*, since called Cardinal of *Cueva*, left to *Lewis Brave*, appointed his Successor to th' Embassie at *Venice*; That amongst other things, the Cardinal doth advise him, That to render himself the more Acceptable to the *Venetians*, and t'insinuate the more readily into their understandings, provoked against him and the Duke of *Ossona*, by reason of *Renauts* Conspiracy, whereof the *Venetians* believed them th' Authors; That the better to gain their belief, he should make no difficulty to dissemble and approve of their Resentment, or to Charge them with the malice of that design, and with th'hatred of that Attempt, to discharge the King his Master of it; And that he should endeavour it by private instructions, after great protestations made of the *Cardinals* and of the Duke of *Ossona*'s innocency, and after a subtil and artificial discourse, to shew, that that Conspiracy was but a dream and a stratagem the Senate of *Venice* forg'd t'affright the people, and to make them suffer with more ease the Subsidies and Impositions they did intend to charge on them, and whereof they had need, to continue the War, they made to th'Archduke *Ferdinand*, and to the Duke of *Ossona*. Book I.

In favour of this counsel, it may be said, which seems so generous, and hath so plausible an appearance, That if the Marquis of *Bedemar* was innocent, as he would have perswaded it, and as piously it may be believed; He knew, that it would be very easie for him to clear that blot, and that Time, the Father of Truth, and which draws to light the things that Ignorance or Malice have hid, would have cured the world of that Error and ill Impression conceived against him; That if it otherwise hapned, and that he continued, as the *Venetians* did report, culpable in the publick opinion; It would have been but of those Illustrious Crimes, that ambitious men take for Virtues, and which the Reason of State, that permits th'Acting of the Worst to its declared or secret Enemies, doth authorize and recompence. 'Tis true, that the *Spaniards*, to whom the Reason of State is not unknown, lookt upon the *Venetians* at that time as their Enemies, by reason of the War they had with th'Arch-duke of *Grets*, their Kinsman, and of the moneys they furnish'd secretly to the Duke of *Savoy*, whose ruine the *Spaniards* had sworn, and whom they persecuted with violence; But though you do permit that Reason of State, whereof it hath been spoken; It was a very foul thing, if it were true, to stir up Traitors, and send them to the service of a Prince in Amity with them, and to whom they sent Ambassadors, and with whom they cherish'd all the Appearances and outward marks of Friendship, to kindle the fire in their Gates, in their Towns, and in their Magazins; As *Renaut*, Emissary of the Duke of *Ossona*, was accused or convicted t'have done against the Republick of *Venice*. That if this State were in War with the Arch-duke of *Grets*,

Book I. *Grets*, Brother in law to the King of *Spain*; And if the Destiny of the Things of the world, which of custom leaves them not long in the same condition, and traversed by a perpetual vicissitude of Torments and Prosperities, forced them to break with him, That Breach was such a War, as God permits amongst Soveraign Princes, and wherein all the Rules, which the Right of Nations ordains, were observed; As to the Mony which they sent to the Duke of *Savoy*, it was not forbidden them t'aid a weak Friend with their purse against a powerful Enemy, in whose ruine they might have received much prejudice, who would have stripped the Duke to his shirt, and by the conquest of his Countries, have shut the gate to the relief, which might have come from *France* to *Italy*, t' hinder the formed design, to finish the Conquest of that fair Country, and to reduce it into a Province. To make yet a little further progress into this Matter, and to raise some Judgment upon it, because a clear sight and certainty cannot be had of it; I will onely say, That if the Conspiracy whereof the Question is, was not true, as the *Spaniards* did maintain it, That it had colour enough to dispose the Republique to the punishment was executed upon them, whom it believed culpable; For t'imagine, as the Marquis of *Bedemar* hath published it, that it was but a halt Alarm which they raised to their Subjects, and a Fancy the Republick formed to make them afraid, for the Reasons he supposed; And that being a Question of fact, it was of difficult proof, and of hard discovery; The belief, it may be, if there had been no more, would not be impossible; but that to gild th'Artifice the better, and to give the fairer colour to the deceit, the Republick had caused some persons to be put to death, and in an extraordinary manner, whom they knew to be Innocent, whereof I cannot be perswaded; And 'tis more probable, that two particular persons, as the Duke of *Ossona* and the Marquis of *Bedemar*, the first whereof plaid always with Religion and Conscience, as all the world knows, and th'other hated the *Venetians*, from whom he believing to t'have received ill entertainment, composed that Fable, and not that a whole great Body, as the Senate of *Venice*, wherein are many persons of wisdom and eminent Virtue, would consent to so wicked a proceeding.

To conclude, since men hazard their Virtue and Conscience so often for humane Interests and subaltern hopes; since men do as the simple Inhabitants of the New World, who prostitute their Gold and Silver, for Glass and for old Rings; 'Tis not to be wondred, if sometimes, upon the like occasion, Honour be exposed, which is but an accession of Virtue and good Conscience, chiefly, when that prostitution is covered with so specious a cloak, as that of the Princes Service, and the good of his Affairs; In all times, it hath been the lot of the Court, to poison men, if not with the profession, at least with the practice of dishoneſt Maxims, which ruine Honour and Virtue, to gain Goods and Power. Few long-livers in Court secure themselves

selves from the Temptations; and Reason hath need of a particular Grace, and of an extraordinary Relief, to resist the force of Objects, which continually besiege the Senses, and the multitude of Examples, which from all parts assault it. The Lustre raised by Luxury, makes Riches, as th'Aliment to be beloved; And the Reverence rendred to Power, makes it to be sought for with so much heat, and conserved with so much pain: And as men fall not suddenly into the bottom of Evil, but descend by degrees into it; so they, who pursue these things, or enjoy them, accustom themselves by little and little to make it their Soveraign Good, and t'esteem all other things which serve not to this End, for vain and ridiculous. Book I.

But this determines not, That all Courts are so corrupt, or that all they, who are obliged to live there, are corrupted; There are some whom God calls thither, and maintains there, to give good Examples, and to make Riches and Power th'Instruments of Virtue, and the Matter of good Works; There are some, that know and feel, that without such Considerations, these things being but vanity and affliction of spirit, as well as all others of that kind, have but this advantage, That they are a Greater vanity and a Greater affliction of spirit. However, the Faith of Courtiers, who are so violently taken, and desperately possessed with the desire of making their Fortune, That there's no treachery they will not do, nor baseness they will not act for the love of them, from whom they expect it, ought always to be much suspected; And there's great cause of distrust, that such persons, worshipping onely the Power men have of doing good, will change their Affections with the change of Masters, and fail of Acknowledgments when they fail of Hopes; And 'tis that distrust, which in my opinion is th'original of a Maxim, which is but too familiar with great Princes; T'hold always the less considerable persons, that are useful unto them, by the bands of that passion; And to cherish them, who ought to be conserved, by not doing for them all the good at once they do intend them. But if Men of Honour, they will always have a condign gratitude for their Benefactors, and will raise no Hopes, if able Men, upon them that are in power, but look upon the things of the Court, as the things of the World, the fullest of Incertitude, and to resemble Lotteries, where for one Prize there are fifty Blanks.

Eleventh Discourse.

When the War becomes too Ruinous to the Subjects of a Prince, He ought t' endeavour, if it be possible, th'End of it; That the King hath been forced to make and continue the War till now, by an Inevitable Necessity; That his Enemies rather than himself have always estranged themselves from Peace.

AFter the making of so great a Circuit, and so long Journeys, 'tis time to return to the place from whence we parted, and to finish the clearing of the point of Profit, by a third Rule, which shall b' added to the two precedent; This ought, as hath been said, t' accompany or follow the War; In the third place, I say then, When the War inflames with violence and fury, and that there's danger, lest it consume inavoidably the good of the State, and the substance of the People, The Prince ought, if it be possible for him, to quench it, and t'imitate those wise Pilots, who use to strike sail, and to gain some safe Harbour, if the Tempest be too strong. *Lewis* th'Eleventh practised wisely this Rule, as *Philip* of *Comines* hath observed it. The *Venetians* also have done the like in all times, as I could give you several Examples; and even the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the fierceness of their humour, and jealousie for their Reputation, have not always declin'd it, as they have done of late, in their prosecutions of the Duke of *Savoy*, since the death of the late King, and when they believed themselves to be sole Arbiters of the Destiny of *Italy*; As Inexplorable as they were, when th'Heavens smiled upon them, and that Fortune was propitious to them; Nothing was seen more tractable or docile than they, when Fortune changed her favour, and expressed a greater desire for Peace, than they had made out for War. And the passage of *Sura*, being forced for the Relief of *Casall*, and the State of *Milan* in danger to be our Prey, if our Thoughts for Conquest had been as aptly disposed, as th'Advantage and Justice: No persons ever were more submiss to the King's Will in all things, or better disposed t' Accept of all the conditions his Majesty was pleased t'impose upon them.

The foundation of this Rule is, That the Felicity of Subjects, being the principal Law, and th'ultimate Measure of th' Actions and Conduct of a Prince; To decline it, is never permitted him, but to return with great advantage, and t'imitate the Sun, which draws not up the vapours and fatness of th'Earth, but to make it the more fruitful, and of a livelier spirit, and of a more active virtue; Wherefore they, who by obstinacy, or by some other particular passion, nourish a War that is fatal to their Subjects, wander very much from th'End of their Charges. And the memory of *Francis* the First, and *Charls* the Fifth, is not recorded with Honour in History, for that both

both of them; and particularly *Charles*, by a pure Animosity, and by a pure mutual Violent Hatred, laboured one anothers Ruine, which could not be effected but by the Ruine of their Countries; And chose rather to see *Christendome* swim in bloud, and t'Expose it to the common Enemy, who made benefit of their Discords, than to lay down Arms and t'hearken to a reasonable Treaty of Peace. *Charles* was so highly transported with this Passion, and so strongly agitated with this Fury, That He permitted *Rhodes* to perish, t'Intend wholly the Desolation of *France*, and abandoned *Austria* to *Soliman*, to make War to the Duke of *Cleves*, who being the King of *Navarres* Ally, was Entred into our Conjoyned Interests. Book I.

This rule, thus laid, and this Maxim establisht, as an Inviolable thing, which receives no exception, but what hath been expressed, A little must be said of the Kings Conduct upon this subject, and of the Condition of *France*, by reason of the War, since He hath been the Master of it. Whereupon, I say, That though this Countrey never saw since *Charlemains* time, so great a Collection of Forces, or so high an Elevation of Glory as hath been manifested under the Reign of this Prince; That though all the Course of his Reign be full of Splendour, and every part of it remarkable by some Illustrious Accident; Though this, I say, be very true; It must also be Confessed, That the War, that doth now exercise it, hath been made at a great Expence, and that it riseth with much pains and swear to the Felicity it ought t'Enjoy and is not far from it: But as the last steps of a long Journey, are the wearyest and most painfull; And as the last drops of Potions give the greatest distaste to the sick persons that take them; so the Remainder of th'ill Time, which *France* is to bear, and the last breathings the War yields, Lay the greatest Weight and Compleats the Wearinesse and Fainting wherewith she Labours; but besides the Brevity of Time it hath to suffer, and the fair hopes for the future, she ought to Consider, as hath been already observed, in another place, That the past Evill was necessary, and that the War, which hath lasted so many years, is not of the Choice or Inclination of the Prince or of his Ministers of State, but an inevitable effect of some Malignant Constellation, which afflicts Christendome; or to speak to the Height of our Reason, and according t'Experience, A fire, which th'Enemies of this State have voluntarily kindled, and which the King and his Ministers of State, what Care and Dexterity soever was used, could not extinguish. This, I will now without any figure of Rhetorique and Elegant Amplification, discover by a brief and faithfull Relation of what hath passed since the peace of *Montpellier* and the Return of the Queen Mother to th'Affairs, even to this present Conjuncture. In another place, I speak of the true and affected Causes of the breach of the Peace, which was attended by the War th'English made in our Islands, and with the third Time of taking up of Armes by th'*Hugonots*, since the Kings Reign. The Ministers of State, who had neither made nor broken that Peace, as th'

Book I. *Hugonots* pretended, and it may be untruly, which I will not here discover, were obliged to prevent th' Affronts that might b' offered to the state, and t' oppose th' Evill others had drawn upon it, and whereof they had laid the foundations and sowed the seeds when they had overcome that great storm, and that th' Island of *Rhé* became the Sepulchre of them, who would have made it the Seat of their new Domination; projected in *France*; The King conceived, that the fatal Instant was come, wherein the Nest of the Rebellion was to be beaten down, and *Rochelle* the Sanctuary of the discontented Persons; What the greatness of that Siege was, and what an Incredible Wonder, the success will make appear to Posterity; 'Tis unnecessary to explain it here, since no person is ignorant of the proceedings and may Judge of them. Whilst that great Affair was in dispute, and that all *Europe* was exercised in th' Expectation of th' Event of so high an Enterprize, The *Spaniards* to make use of th' Occasion, made another Attempt upon the States of the Duke of *Mantoua*, and put themselves into a posture to strip him of his New Succession, for no other Reason, but that it was Convenient for them, and that the Duke was not Acceptable to them, because he was a *French-man*. How much *France* was offended with this Assault, and what a shamefull Reflection it made upon it, In the Ruine of a Prince stript to the shirt for their sake, 'Tis easie to Comprehend. Extreme Remedies nevertheless were not used to revenge the publique Injuries; And as before *Bouquingans* preparations for Sea, and th' Expedition of th' English to th' Island of *Rhé*; an Extraordinary Ambassadour was sent in' *England*, to divert the breach was intended; And before Engagement in the War of *Italy* and to pass the Mountains for the relief of *Montferrat*, The King had recourse to the Ways of Treaty, and sent *Sir* of *Bautru*, t' offer such Civil and reasonable Conditions of Accommodation, that the *Spaniards* could pretend to Nothing, but the Victory, of more Advantage. This way failing, and the Reducement of *Rochelle*, upon whose subsistence, the principal Hopes of the good Success of their Armes had been raised, having given Means to the King to pass th' *Alpes* and t' hasten to the Relief of *Cazal* upon its last breath, He made th' Enemies retire, upon a Treaty that left *Montferrat* for that time safe, and hindred the State of *Milan* to change the Master of it. That so favourable and obliging a Treaty, should not give an End to that War; And that the *Spaniards* would not observe it, so long as they ought to have done, to prepare for a new Assault, and to return to the Lists from whence they were come with some loss, even of their Reputation, but with th' Entire Conservation of what they might have lost in *Italy*, was Hard of Belief; They behaved themselves, nevertheless in that Manner, and to pay the Curtesie done them, or to speak according to their sense, to revenge th' Affront they had received at *Asti*; They caused a part of th' Emperours best Troops to march from *Germany* into *Italy*, and sent the Marquis of *Spinola* thither from *Spain* with much

Money

Money and great Forces to renew the Quarrel, which we thought had been ended; And to deprive us of any thoughts of th'Affairs of the Duke of *Mantoua*, and to force our Armies the second time to pass th' *Alpes*, They had prepared two powerfull Irruptions against *France*; The one in *Champaigna* by *Walsthein* to whom the present Duke *Charls* of *Lorrain* gave passages through his Countrey, and furnisht Victuals for his Army; And th' other in *Languedoc* by the Duke of *Feria*, who drew not thither, either for want of Forces, or by Reason that *Walsthein* changed his march towards *Ratisbone* t' allay the storm that broke upon his head in that Dyet. Book I.

Such was the *Spaniards* proceedings, and the Design they hatched against *France*, whilst, we thought only of Composing the differences they had with the Duke of *Mantoua* in a friendly Manner, and caused Endeavours to b' used in *Italy* and in *Germany* to withdraw the *Spaniards* with sweetness from that prejudice, whereinto they had Cast the Duke, without offence given by him; And that the *Str* of *Sabran*, was sent to *Vienna* to make Plausible and Just proffers; That undoubtedly th' Emperour had Accepted them, if he had been Master of his Desires; And if th' *Spaniards*, who are predominant in his Counsels, had not had the spirit so full fraught with the Thoughts of War, that there was no room left for a Thought of Peace, nor a Motion which tasted not of Passion and Violence.

Th'Armes then of th'Empire, of *Spain*, and of *Savoy* Conjoyned against us, and against our Allies, had in the beginning, and in the Sequel of that War, Considerable successes, *Mantoua* was lost by surprize, and *Casall*, th' onely Piece saved from the Ruine of the Dukes Fortune, and the last Anchor of the safety of *Italy*, was in danger to be lost by Siege; But it was relieved by a Miracle, and there was made a kind of Accommodation, which skinned th' Evil rather than healed it; And *Feria*, who succeeded to Saint *Croix* in the Government of *Milan*, had a Design to convert it into smoak, so soon as our Forces had repassed the Mountains, and should be in Condition to break it with Advantage; He had truly done it, and had made it to be sufficiently understood, as it shall be fully deduced in th' Apology of th'Acquisition of *Pignerol*, if the Vigilancy of our Minister of State had not Countermined his Mine; And if th' Arms of the King of *Swede*, which began to flourish in *Germany*, had not caused th' Imperial Forces to be re-called from *Italy*, without which the *Spanish* Forces had not strength enough t' Act powerfully, nor Pretext to cover their Enterprizes; that was the Cause, the *Spaniards* were Constrained t' Acquiesce in the Peace Concluded at *Quieraſque*, because they were not the Principal parties in the War, which they had not begun, as they said, nor pursued, but for th' interests of th' Emperour, and as Auxiliaries of th' Empire.

Before the Raising of the Siege of *Casall*, and during the sitting of the Dyet of *Ratisbone*, The King treated with the King of *Swede*, whom the Protestants of *Germany* had Invited to their Relief, and upon

Book I. on whom they had Cast their Eyes, as upon their last Refuge, and the sole Haven, which was left them, against the storm that did threaten their Countrey. Whilst this great Adversary was upon the Stage, to try his strength with the formidable House of *Austria*; And to speak the Truth, the Victory was not much less to be feared on the Friends, than on th' Enemies part, in Parties so full of Ambition; Reason of State advised, That the King should be in Armes, to Cause his Authority the more to be Respected, and his Protection the more to be Valued, which he so Generously and Christianly offered t' all the Catholiques of *Germany*, as a Means to retain, if there were Cause, the Victorious in their proper Bounds, and t' hinder th' abuse of the Victory, and th' Enlargement of it, further than it might be expedient for the Good of Religion or for the *German* Liberty. That if the King had been, as mortal an Enemy to th' House of *Austria*, as th' House of *Austria* is to *France*, and had sworn its Ruine, as th' other had the Ruine of *France*, It cannot be doubted but with the least Effort made, when the King of *Swede* did so violently shake it, He had laid it upon the ground; And if after the Death of that Magnanimous Prince, and whilst good Fortune could not then be separated from th' Armes He Commanded, He had joyned his Forces with the *Swedes* for the Relief of *Ratisbone*, where all the Forces of th' Emperour were Engaged, It had probably fallen under that Weight. The King truly Religious to a scruple in preserving the Peace that was betwixt us and them, and in sparing it in a time when we might have lawfully disturbed it, hath been ill requited for that grace, and the same Men, to whom we gave life at *Heidelbourge*, were the Troops, as hath already been observed, which surprized *Philisbourge* from us, and made that great Wound, that will bleed it may be to th' End of the War. But the *Spaniards* having Commanded *Treves* to be taken, and Carried away th' Elector, who took himself to be safe under the shadow of the Flowers of Lillies and Inviolable under our Protection, as to them with whom we were not in War; Having forced us, by all sorts of Reasons, to declare it to those Ravishers, and to purge that Injury, by Armes against them, who would not repair it friendly; Since Peace appears, as a Monster t' affright them, what shew soever they have made to desire it, and what person soever they have put on to blind the World with that Apparance; 'Tis certain, that they were never in Earnest; And being alwayes flattered with hopes that some Change would happen amongst us, that might make the Way plain to Victory, or that it might be made th' Easier with their Armes; They raised so many Punctilioes, and so many Disputes upon the form of Passports, Necessaries to treat of Peace, and then, upon the Quality of the Persons, who ought therein to be Comprised, and upon other studied Incidents, to delay that affair, as shall be represented in the following discourse, That the worst sighted Men, have seen that the *Spaniards* thought of Nothing less than Peace, and that all their Endeavours were but an Illusion to Cheat simple Persons.

But

But th'Heavens, a weary of their Hypocrisie, and abhorring the loss of so much Christian Bloud, which their Ambition had Caused to be spilt, disappointed their hopes in th'highest Ascendant they were ever arrived into; And they who had an Aversion for Peace by reason of th'Immense Advantages which they represented to themselves in the Continuation of the War, were Constrained to make a good shew, and to keep it at distance, t'Endeavour the Recovery of what they had lost, and to see whether the Wheel of Fortune that had brought them so low, might not make one turn in their Favour, and restore them to the place from whence she had Caused them to descend; They must nevertheless, after Contest upon that Attempt and after a Tryal of all Means to rise again, bore under the Destiny, that handled them so ill, and resolve to quit something whereof they had no sure Hold, and to save the rest they might have lost. Either all the presages the present State of things doth hold forth are false, or this time, as hath been said, in another place, is not far off. And so soon as *Germany* is reduced to Reason, which may be effected by some small Attempts made on that side, The last Act of the Tragedy will be plaid, and Peace shut up that bloudy Theater, which hath been so long open to the War. Book I.

Twelfth Discourse.

where 'tis shewed, by two manifest Proofes, That 'tis the House of Austria *that hath always resisted the Design of Peace: To which the King and his Confederates were disposed in Earnest.*

THe World is to be satisfied of a most Important Truth, which is necessary to be known, and the Matter more exactly handled, which hath been but lightly touched in the precedent Discourse. It must be made t'appear; That 'tis not the King that hath broken the Rule, which hath been formerly established, but his Enemies, who have forced from him the Means of observing it; They have alwaies oblig'd him t' have th' Armes in his hands, though he had a Desire to quit them; and having pitty for th'Evils of his Subjects, and trouble for all the Wounds, which *Christendome* received, and for the great effusion of blood in the War, made all the proffers he could make with Honour, t'obtain an honest and sure Peace.

In effect, He hath hearkned with the most favourable Eares, and with a spirit the best prepared that could be desired, t' all the good Offices, which his Holiness laid out upon that Occasion; He delivered Faithfully and in Warrantable form, the necessary passeports for our Enemies Deputies; He named his Agents to go to th' Appointed places for that Holy-work; And omitted nothing of what

Book I. what might be expected from a Prince, really desirous of Peace; And the demonstrations he hath given, were not false Ensigns or deceitfull Evidences, but certain marks and Concluſive Arguments of the desire He had for it; I affirm nothing, but what the Pope and his Nuncioes do certifie; that Newtral Princes and their Ministers of State have acknowledged, that the greateſt part of *Christendome* knows, and whereof the Conſcience of our Enemies is Convinced. But they made onely falſe ſhews, and ſtudied Countenances of deſires for Peace, and for the quiet of *Christendome*, whilſt they Imployed their Wits to find out Inventions, to continue the War, and laboured with all their powers to lengthen the Troubles, and to Perpetuate th' Actions of the VVar. They ſent indeed Deputies to *Collen*, whither they might go with Safety and Honour, but 'twas for two Ends, both advantagious to them, but were not ſuch as the Chriſtian Common-vvealth aſpired unto, with ſo much heat, and whereof there was not ſo great need, as the Ceſſation of the VVar. The firſt, to deceive the VVorld by that fair Apparance, and to make ſimple perſons believe, that they had not onely a deſire for Peace, but that they made haſte to make it, and burned with Impatience to give a beginning to ſo neceſſary, and to ſo much deſired a VVork; And all this, to ſecure themſelves by theſe Illuſions and Dexterities, of the Blame would be given them for keeping of *Christendome* ſo long in Trouble, and for powring out ſo much Oyl and Brimſtone on the fires that they have there kindled, and which have almoſt reduced it t' Aſhes.

The ſecond End, was, to lay us aſleep by that ſhew, and to render us more Defective and Cold, by that their exteriour Deſire for peace, to put our ſelves into a Condition of ſuſteining the VVar, which they would make us; To dead alſo by the ſame Means them, who had a mind to joyn with us, and t'hinder them to be of that Party, where their Intereſt and Honour obliged them; And t' untye from our Amity and allyance them who were already entred, by propoſing to them Conditions, in ſhew of more advantage if they treated apart, than ſuch as they ſhould have in a Treaty of Generall Peace; And in perſecuting them, with that politique Maxim, That in the matter of Society and Leagues the ſtorm falls upon the Laſt that treat, who pay the Charges of the VVar, and that the firſt are the Perſons, who gather the Profit, and vvho Carry in the Crops of the field vvhich others have Husbanded and thereof ſovved the Seed. But our Deputies, and thoſe of our Confederates, for vvhom they ſent no Paſports, or ſuch, as vvere Lame or Defective in the form or the matter, vvould not render themſelves in the place appointed for the Treaty, becauſe they had denied them th' Entry, and ſhut up the paſſages by that Artifice; A proceeding certainly very Injurious to th' *Holy Chair*, vvhoſe Mediation they have long abuſed to diſſemble their Deceit, and Comical Demeanor to the reſt of the VVorld, vvhich the *Spaniards* have Acted by Apparances very diſtant, from

their

their Intentions, and very contrary to the Truth, as we shall prove by two Infallible proofs. Book I.

Th'one is, Th'Answer made at *Vienna*, in the month of *July*, in the year 1637, to th'Ambassador of the Duke of *Florence*, upon th'instance he then made t'have Authentique Pasports, as well for our Deputies, as for them of our Allies. They would not, as they said, grant Pasports to the Crown of *Swede*, with whom they had a particular Treaty, nor for the Princes in Rebellion to them; whereof they that were in Arms, as the *Landgrave* of *Hesse*, laboured to make their Accommodation apart; and th'others upon whom the storm fell, and had been put into the Proscription of th'Empire, were incapable to Treat, and had no difference to determine, but what was determined by th'Emperors Sword, and by the Laws of th'Empire; And in general, it was their sense, That it did not belong to Dependent and Subaltern Princes, in which number they comprehended all the Princes of th'Empire, to send Deputies to an Assembly, such as was to be kept at *Collen*, where none ought t'Intervene, but the Deputies of Absolute and Independent Princes; And that the King of *Spain* was justly to be condemned, if he had not promised the contrary, which they were well assured he had done; Not to meddle with th'Affairs of *Germany*; And that he would take it ill if th'Emperour should intermeddle in th'Affairs of his Kingdom, and favour the Revolted of his Subjects, and give heat to their Rebellions; That if he desired Pasports to send to treat of the Quarrel had with the King of *Spain*, and of the difference had with the Duke of *Lorrain*, they were ready to grant them.

'Tis easie by the whole course of this Answer, and by the secret sense it contains, that th'*Hatred* they bear us is immortal, and that th'Envy they conceive against us is th'ordinary Devil which torments them; That the particular Peaces they have sought with so much Vehemency and Artifices, were not planks for them to pass with more ease t'an Universal Peace, but the means of making us th'hotter and more violent War, and to charge us in more places, and by a greater number of Engines; And to make some reflection upon the matter of this plausible Answer, I will say, That being as the world believes them, such great men of Policy, and so dextrous in th'Art of dissimulation, whereof they have gained the Reputation, They too openly vented their design to change th'Empire into Monarchy, and to leave no mark of Soveraignty, or any impression of a Free Power in *Germany*; Or to declare the Truth, and make it out as it was; 'Tis not, though they then had their spirits full, and heated with the design, That they wanted power to retain it, if they had been willing t'have concealed it, and t'have denied it the Light, but since th'unhappy and fatal Peace of *Prague*, they believed t'have so well and effectively adjusted their Arrows, and weather'd them, that nothing could hinder them of success, and that th'Answer was made in the strength of their Hopes, and in th'Highest Elevation of their Thoughts.

Book I. For what other Thing could it signifie, in Comparing the Princes of th'Empire with the Subjects of the King of *Spain*, and to put them in a parallel and equal degree of condition, Than to begin to degrade them of their Soveraignty, which no person to this day hath contested with them? Than to make the Transmutation spoken of, and reduce many States, who have particular Lords, under a single Monarque? And yet no person is ignorant of the Dignity of th'Empire of the West, as of the Powers that constitute it; And that they reside not in the sole Person of th' Emperor, As the Power and dignity of Monarchies have their seat in the Persons of the Princes that possess them, But in th'Assembly and Conjunction of th'Electors, and of th'other Princes of *Germany*, who together, make the Body, whereof th'Emperor is the most considerable Member, and Superiour in Excellency to th'other Members, considered apart, and sever'd from the Body they form; There's no person also but knows, That the Majesty of th'Emperor, and that August Character which doth distinguish him from Monarques, are not derived from the power he hath over a great extent of Country submitted unto him, and over a great number of Subjects, which he governs, but arise from the Greatness to which he is raised, and from the Rank that he enjoys above many Soveraigns that encompass him, who do him honour, and are bound in certain occasions, as receiving th'Investiture of their Estates from th'Emperor, to serve him with their Lands and Persons, and owe him (with exception t'other Soveraigns not of the Body of th'Empire) a particular Honour and an extraordinary Veneration.

But lest th' Emperor, following th' humour of Great Persons, should give too great an Extent t' his Authority, and make Invasions upon the Rights and Liberties of the Princes of th'Empire; And lest, the Princes puffed with the spirit of Soveraignty, which they bring with them into the world, and drunk with the sweetness of the Command they exercise over their Subjects, should become Indocile towards th' Emperor, and undertake to draw to them all th'Authority of th' Empire, Constitutions have been made, and Laws established, which bound their Jurisdiction, and qualifie their distinct Powers, and hold the Ballance at its just point amongst them, and make the necessary Counterpoise, Lest that th' one becoming too strong, should force and destroy th'other; And 'tis that temper which th'Emperour and the Princes of th' Empire have assaulted, by several stratagems on divers occasions, and the Limits, which they would have often defaced; 'Tis that Counterpoise which they have endeavoured to unsettle, and to ruine that Harmony, in whose conservation th' Happiness of *Germany* principally consists, the safety of *Christendom*, and the most assured means of resisting th'*Ottoman* Forces, when they over-run on the Land side; And 'tis that, th'House of *Austria*, doth enforce more of late, than ever to perform, what they labour with Sails and Oars; 'Tis the great work

work of their Aim and Ambition, and could they master it, as many times since the Battel of *Prague* they have been very near it, it would not b' Impossible for them to convert Kingdoms into Provinces, and to make up in time the Monarchy; whereof they have so many years past laid the Design. Book I.

And therefore th' Affairs of th' Empire being in this condition, I leave it to the Judgment of every Impartial Person, whether the King had not a great interest in th' Affairs of *Germany*, and great reason t'engage; And whether h'ought t'have promised to th' House of *Austria* the liberty of finishing at his pleasure, and without resistance, that pernicious design of Universal Monarchie? Whether h'ought with Newtral Eyes and folded Arms have permitted th' Inheritance of his Neighbours to be burnt, whose flames might easily reach his Countries? To Judgment I submit it, whether th' Aiding of Princes oppressed and stript, be to protect Rebellious Subjects? And whether distinction ought not to be made betwixt them, in whose hands God hath put the sword to defend their Rights against Strangers, as well as to punish th' Enemies of their Country, and them, who have no other Right to bear Arms, than what they receive from th' hands of their Prince? The King then could not abandon the cause of miserable *Germany*, nor permit the Liberty of its Princes to be ravish'd, without being an Enemy to his People, and Desertor of the Christian Republique; And he was no less obliged to maintain, by his Endeavours and Arms, the Constitution of th' Empire, against th' House of *Austria*, which laboured to destroy it, than He was at that time, when He used his Authority, and permitted his Forces to march out of his Kingdom t'oppose the Count *Palatin*'s design of Alteration; And that the Resolutions taken in th' Assembly at *Worms* should not be executed. But this matter shall be further cleared in the Treaty of the Monarchy of th' House of *Austria*.

As to the Princes of *Germany*, who did not co-operate with th'holy Intentions of the King, and departed from his Alliance and that of *Swede*; who thought to secure their Estates and Fortune by a particular Treaty, and to find in the Peace of *Prague* an Inviolable Sanctuary against the Evil they did apprehend; These Princes, I say, are very blind, or of small courage, if they do not see the servitude is prepared for them; if they dare not refuse to put their hands to the making of that Chain which is t'hold them; if they have been taken with the Charms th' House of *Austria* had presented unto them, and have followed th' ill inspirations have been given them by pretended friends; if the Peace they thought to make, hath not been so much a Peace as a change of War, and passage to new Troubles, and to more dangerous Emotions than those they had quitted; if in their present condition they march betwixt Precipices, and ought to be the Prey of the Victor, on what Side soever the Victory falls, and bear the punishment of their defection from the good Party, or be-

Book I. come their last Conquest, and make the Conclusion of the Design, they had in Judgment; In this Dereliction, wherein their imprudence, and the Corruption of some other causes had cast them; 'Tis yet better for them, to return to the good Party, and find safety and honour by aiding in order to the Victory, than to persevere in a Society, where they must perish whatsoever happens; I know well, that 'tis not easie to get out of a Precipice, nor out of a Labyrinth, when a man is far advanced into it; But, notwithstanding th' Artifices of th' House of *Austria*, and the Toils they set in all places to stop the Princes escape from them; Th' offences they have committed against them, who came so generously to relieve them, and th' high Ingratitude wherewith they have paid the precious Blood was spilt, and the life of one of the most Illustrated Persons of the world lost for their safety; If there remains, I say, in their Souls any dram of Love for the Liberty of their Nation, which hath been in great veneration with them, and that they be ready to receive good fortune, when she offers her self unto them, The favourable Revolution that begins to shine upon *Germany*, will give them means to break the Bonds that hold them; To reconcile themselves to their antient friends, and to recover their first Correspondency with them, whose Amity is their present Security, and future Protection; But they shall be entertained more fully on this Subject in another place.

As to the particular Treaty which th' *Austrians* then conceived to make with the *Swedes*, and pursued to make with much vehemency, which hath been very often cut in sunder, and as often tied up again; which was the design of the last Resolutions of the penultime *Dyet of Ratisbone*, and the foundation of th' hopes of the good Success of th' Enemies Affairs, The time hath made it appear, that it was nothing but a countermine of the *Swedes*, t'amuze th' Imperialists; As it was the design of th' Imperialists, in case the Treaty became abortive, to lull asleep the *Swedes*, and to render them slower and less inflamed to make War; or it was a studied stroak of Addresse, and a subtil Artifice to cheat their Confederates, with some shew of Apprehension and Jealousie, and to provoke them t'intend with more vigour, and with stronger subventions, th' Affairs of the League; For that wise and advised Nation was not so great an Enemy to their Good, nor so ill-sighted in the Truth of their Interests, as to be deprived willingly, in favour of the King of *Poland*, of a great and rich Province, easie for them to be conserved, and to be at greater Liberty to defend his Conquests in *Germany*, and to make progress upon the Usurpators and Desertors of the Liberty of that Country; And afterwards to renounce, what he enjoyed, as most stable and Immovable, for a sum of Money offered him, and for so casual a Benefit, as Mony, that may easily be spent or wasted. That if the House of *Austria* consented, that the Crown of *Swede* should keep the Provinces and Places, which it could not take from them;

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The Designs of that Ambitious House, and the Policy of its Ministers of State, were too well known to be perswaded, That it was for no longer Time than was necessary t'Accomplish in other places their Designs, or to procure unto themselves either the greater Victory, or the more advantagious Peace; That no Christian Power could or would oppose the War to be made them, whom it calls Agressors of th'Empire, and the disturbers of the peace of *Germany*. In another place, Discourse shall be made of the Certainty may be raised on the promises of that House, when it may break t'advantage. Book I.

Th'other Proof to be made use of is fresh, and Memory need not be strained to remember it; 'Tis present to th'understanding, and to the sense of them, who know any thing of our Affairs; 'Tis that which passed this year at *Hambrough* touching th'Adjustment of necessary Conditions, for proceeding in the Treaty of the General Peace, and finishing that Lamentable War, which in the conclusion, will make of *Christendom* but a shambles and a Glass-house; That Adjustment was pursued by the Mediation of the King of *Denmark*, who to render himself the more considerable to both Parties, and to give Jealousie to him, that should seem opposite to the Peace, raised a great and powerful Army to make the Ballance fall on the Side he should take in that hot Quarel, whilst th'Ambassadors of the King and of the Crown of *Swede* submitted, as they ever did, to Reason, and made all th'Advances that could be expected from persons acting in Earnest, and without Personating. It first hapned, that *Sir Sutzan*, Deputy to the King of *Hungary*, retired, when th'other Deputies were upon the point of Resolving some thing for that pretended Adjustment, without giving notice of it; in Imitation of the Count of *Curtz*, who practised the same a little before, And returned six weeks after with imperfect Authorities, and with defective Letters of Credence, that it might not fail on the King of *Spain*'s part; The Negotiation was stopped: What th'Imperialists did, was to thrust Time by the shoulder, and to see whether that great Clowd gathered near *France*, would not produce something to their advantage, and bring upon that Kingdom the Tempest, which they had promised to themselves, and whereof they had furnished a great part of the Matter.

Moreover, not t'appear Averse to Peace, nor to be Charged with th'Hatred that would be charged on them by the Voluntary Continuation of the War, They permitted, that the broken Treaty should be set on foot, and sent to *Hambrough* the Count of *Averspery* with a more Ample power, by virtue whereof, after long Disputes and long Contests of spirit and words, Th'Adjustment desired, was resolved, and Conditions signed, to which nothing was wanting for Execution, but the Ratification of Interessed Princes in that Affair. But that failed on the part of the King of *Hungary*, who instead of sending a pure and simple Ratification, as was necessary, and

Book I. and as his Deputy was obliged to procure, and as the Kings was made, sent it lame, and Limited with so many Modifications and Reserves, that it was easie to see, That it was but Comedy, and the continuation of the Game, which the *Sir Sutzan* had plaid, t'Amuze the world, and to give time to ripen the Great Designs formed against *France*. And that they may not accuse me to have supposed, what is not, and t'have rais'd a fancy at pleasure to quarrel them, I will onely make use, for Justification of what I have said, of the force of a Libel against us, which not long since they did publish in *Spanish*, and under the sign of a pair of Spectacles; After a number of foolish proffers, and of th'Impostures vomited against the good Intentions of the King, and of his Ministers of State; Th' Author concludes it with a Prognostick, or rather with a Threatning, he makes of the great Disorder, that was ready to Thunder in this Kingdom in the Concurrence of two Parties, that would divide the Court, and which, as he said, ought to shake the Pillars of this Monarchy.

I add to what I have before said, To discover the true passion the King had to remove all the Rubs that might stop the way to Peace, and t'omit nothing that might hasten that Holy Work; That he had given power to *Sir* of *Avaux* his Ambassador, t'Accord, in the Pasports, he should deliver to the King of *Hungary*'s Commissioners, a Title, which to that time h' had vainly desired of us, and had always constantly been refused him, for the Considerations, which shall be laid down in the Treaty of the Monarchy; And to shew also th'Indubitable Aversion the King of *Hungary*, with all his House, had to the Peace, which all *Christendom* demands, and is so necessary for it; At the same time that he refused it, by his Evasions and Proffers, He bought dearly the Continuation of that Peace he had made with the *Turk*, and consented, That almost two hundred Villages should be cut off from his Frontiers, to lengthen the Territories of the *Turk*.

The End of the First Book.

OF

The Councel of VVar

Of a PRINCE.

Second BOOK.

First Discourse.

That it is a great Misfortune to a Prince to want Power to make Defence against th' Assaults of a Forein Prince, and thereby to depend upon the Will of others: which is confirmed by two Examples; The first, of the League made betwixt the Pope, *the King of* Spain, *and the* Venetians, *for the Relief of* Cyprus.

HAving given some Advises, and prepared some Directions for such Princes, as will relieve their Allies; It may not be improper, t'instruct them who have need of Relief, of the Manner whereby they may be most safely Relieved, and to shew them the dangerous places, and discover th' Ambushes, if Fortune casts them into it, they will meet with in that way. T'handle then this Matter, and to distribute it in Order, I say, That although a Prince ought to b' Industrious to fortifie himself with Alliances, and t'interess the greatest number of Powers he can in his Conservation; 'Tis ever an ill fortune for him, if the good weal of his Countries, and the Matter of his Fortune depends upon another Mans will; And if he have not in himself, and in his Power, the principle of his safety, and the Revenge of Disgraces; If that fail him, and a powerful Enemy assault him, He is often oppressed before his Friends put themselves into a posture to defend Him; And th' Evil hath

Book II. hath struck its stroak, before his Allies are resolved to go to fight his Enemies.

The Reason of this is, That a wise Prince ought not, but with the Latest t'Embarque in a War, or expose himself with precipitation in a thing that hath nothing certain but th'Expence, that therein is to be made, and whose success more than all other things in the world, depends upon th'incertainty of Fortune, and upon the motions of other Incident Causes. Wherefore he must ever labour to divert the storm with Address, before he undertakes to break it by Force; And endeavour timely the ways of Accommodation, and that the Means of his Intercession and Proposals precede the Motion of his Arms; And when all this shall prove unprofitable, and that the gentle Remedies do but sharpen th'Evils, and that he must resolve to make use of Extremes; There is much way to be gone over, and difficulties to be overcome, before arrival there, many things are to be furnished and fitted before Entry into the Lists, and beginning of the Course for Contest.

And if he send but weak Supplies, and light Refreshings to his Friends, what will it prove but an impertinent advance, and a lost Expence; To cast a few drops of water upon a great fire, which kindle it rather than put it out; Provoke the disease, rather than cure the sick person? And if he resolve t'Arm powerfully, and to raise great Forces in favour of his Allies, but will not do it without taking of Sureties and Pawns for th'others faith; without agreeing upon Re-emburstment, and without many other Conditions, which occasion a long Contest and Debate; The Prince who hath th'Enemy upon him, and the fire in his Country, shall perish at leisure, or make some considerable loss: But th'Assailant makes his preparations before-hand, and in silence, the quickest and suddenest Invasion possibly to surprize him, and t'oppress him, before he can know it, or can be Relieved; and will cause all sorts of Inventions and Engines to play to stop or subvert the Subventions which might come from his Allies.

I will produce, for the clearing and confirmation of what I have said, two Illustrious Examples, and from two of the wisest and most famous Nations of *Europe*, in th'Art of the Conduct of Negotiations, and governing of Enterprizes. It must b' endeavoured by th'aid of the Narratives, to make the face of the Discourse cheerful, which too long a Reasoning would render austere, and to divert the Readers spirit from the too profound attention, wherein it would plunge him, if it were not interrupted. The first Example shall be taken from the League made betwixt *Pius* the 5th, *Philip* the 2d, and the *Venetians*, against *Selim* the 2d, who had assaulted th'Island of *Cyprus*. This Evidence is to be given to the Piety of *Philip*, that he did not expect Solicitation for the Relief of the *Venetians* in this occasion, and that he offered them, and sent them his Maritine Forces a year before the conclusion of the League; But what was done in

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the pursute of it, brought not the fruit that was expected; The Remedies came not time enough, and the Relief was prepared, with so great Tediousnesse, and Marched so slowly, That *Nitosia* was lost before the *Spanish* and *Venetian* Forces met, That was the Capital City of *Cyprus*, and one of the best Fortifications of th'East. As the *Spaniards* put not to Sea, but with the Belief to secure it, so they abated of their Edge, when they knew it was lost; And though in the beginning, they'd made shew t' aid the *Venetians* in Earnest; It was not possible, after that losse, to make *John Adre Doria* their General t'advance for the Relief of *Famagoust*, which then held out, and wherewith, if it had been Conserved, there had been hopes to Recover what was lost, and to retake *Nicosia*. Book II.

Though this was so, yet it was not the sole Rigour, which *Doria* Exercised towards the *Venetians*, nor the sole Bitternesse they had to drink from his Cup, during the time of th'Expedition; whilst th' Armies were at Sea, and that they were apparantly to march for mutual Conservation, Hee Commanded his Ships apart from the *Venetians*, and marched separately, To be free from Engagement in any Enterprize, or to second th' heat of the Republique, which could not resolve to retire without some undertaking. The small Designs they proposed unto him, he rejected, as unworthy of the Forces He Commanded and the Reputation of th'Army. In the great and difficult Matters, He would not Engage by Reason of the small Time that rested to finish them; And that they were upon the Declination of *Autumn* when the Tempests are frequent in the *Levant* Sea, and Navigation dangerous. So that two fair Armies retired without doing more than making of a Noise, and one of the greatest Preparations that hath been seen upon the Sea of a long time, Acted no memorable thing, but in producing nothing that was memorable.

It was said, That it was not of Kindness but of Jealousie, That *Philip* so freely offered his Forces to the *Venetians*, and was Enclined to that Design for fear lest if they went alone to dissipate that storm, and to resist the great Powers of *Selim*, Their Reputation might be raised to some Excess, and make them Considerable in *Christendome*, and particularly in *Italy*, beyond what was expedient for the Good of his Affairs. But he sought a Temper of Aid, which was impossible for him to find, and as his Retentive Spirit and distrustfull humour disposed him naturally in all things t' allow the least He Could to hazard, In this Action, He Endeavoured to gain without danger of loss, and to Defend the *Venetians* in declaring only a desire to Conserve them, and t' hinder the progress of the *Turk* by the sole Reputation of his Armes, and by the single Demonstration of his Forces.

But this Design miscarrying, The League above spoken of, was Concluded the following year, though it was not without much Contest and Labour, The violent and passionate Endeavours of *Pius*

Book II. the fifth for that business, were stronger than all the Difficulties the *Spaniards* framed, and all th' Inconveniences which they Caused t' Arise. A little stay must be made here, to relate the proceedings which the *Spaniards* and the *Venetians* had there, and to represent the subtilties and stratagems, which they practised mutually in the war of Wit; It being the subject, which engaged me to produce this Example, and what hath been said above, was only to serve it for passage and Avenue. They were then eight entire Months in Contesting upon the Conditions of the Treaty, without finding an End of them; Much was agitated and little resolved, and the slow and Difficult humour of the *Spaniards* furnished alwaies Matter for the Lengthning of it, and sometimes Pretexts for the Breaking of it. In the mean Time *Famagouste* was lost; Insolence Encreased in the *Turk* with the Victory; And th' Irresolutions the Christians Laboured of were a necessary Argument to him of their Fear and Weakneese.

And yet it was impossible to Joyn spirits, which had such different Interests and such Contrary ends, as the *Venetians* and the *Spaniards*; They that were first Exposed to the *Turks* Armes, and upon whom the greatest weight of the War was to fall, prest the speedy Quenching of the Fire; But the *Spaniards* more remote from the danger, had not so great a desire t'expell it, and being out of distance to be suddenly toucht with th'Evill that prest the *Venetians*, Endeavoured only to be delivered of another Evill, The *Barbarian* Piracies, which constantly vexed them, They would have had the War Carried into that Country for to represse them, or at least, be assured, that it should be done hereafter; And that the *Venetians* and they should Joyntly endeavour, and with all their powers, to force from the Pirates their strong holds, and from the *Turks*, their Harbours for their Fleets; But for Accord in this proposall an expedient could not be found, nor security offered that would be received; The disposition of the *Venetians* was suspected by them, and they were diffident of such an interessed Policy as theirs; and believed it full of Artifices and Snares; And as they who have Inclinations for deceit, have alwayes fear of being deceived, They feared that the *Venetians* being in th'Haven, would forget who Aided them thither, and being safe from the Tempest that threatned them from *Constantinople*, They would no longer think of the Warr at *Argieres* and *Thunis*, nor Continue for anothers Interest the same Expences, they had laid out upon their own Interest.

Th'End then they pursued, and the Mark they aimed at, was this; To form a League *offensive and defensive with the Pope and the* Venetians; *That this League should be perpetual, That it should have Forces alwayes at Sea, and that the Confederates should make use of them, according to th' Exigency of th' Occasions and Necessity of their Affairs.* Thereupon they made proposalls, as Ridiculous as Magnificent, and formed upon that foundation Designs as much swollen as their Courage;

rage, And as high as their Hopes; They desired, after the taking of *Constantinople*, and Ruining of the *Turk*, That they should be bound to make War to the King of *Persia*; To destroy *Byserte*, *Thunis*, and *Argieres*; T' Exterminate the *Seriphes* from *Africa*, and to pursue in all places *Mahomets* Sect with Sword and Fire, and to pay him with use, what He had so largely borrowed of *Christendome*; They did after these Propositions made, raise the powers of their Master above all that was great or formidable upon Earth, and Amplifie his Zeal to Religion, Exalt his prosperities and give Wings to his hopes. Book II.

It was easie to be seen, That all their Proceedings were nothing but Illusion and Artifice; And that they laboured only to preserve th'Apparances of good Christians, and gain Reputation amongst Credulous Souls and Weak spirits, who are ever in greater Number than the Wise; But when it was necessary to Come to the Particular Affair, and to the Subject for which they were met, The Relief of *Cyprus*; There was nothing so Cold, as they; nothing less Treatable; and after a long Debate and much Circumlocution about th' Affair, They returned alwaies to their diversion; That they much desired a League, and that all *Christendome* would Unite in a Common Quarrel; That Forces should be Constantly on foot to Counterpoise and Check the *Turkish* Forces; But after all this Discourse, they desired that their first Propositions might prevail, and for the present nothing Undertaken or Assaulted but on the Coasts of *Barbary*.

This League, as they had formed it, secured all their Estates, and no Design was ever better Contrived for them, nor more to their advantage; for without Hazard of any thing, they put themselves into a Condition to gain much; They reaped without sowing, and contrary to th'ordinary disposition of the things of this World, their advantages Came purely to them, and without any Precedent or Subsequent Evill. The Levies permitted them to be made upon the Lands of th'Ecclesiastiques, and the *Croysades* the Pope granted them in th'Old and New world, gave them means to prepare a Fleet, and t' Entertain the Ships they were obliged to furnish by the Conventions of the League; They made no new Enemy nor new War, They Continued only what they ever had with the *Turk*; And carrying it into his Countrey they held it by Consequence at distance with theirs, as they had done their Coasts; And without being Constrained to Fortifie with Garrisons and Ships, They became free from th' Invasions of the Pyrates, whose Aid the *Turk* made use of at Sea, and of such petty Invasions, as ruined particular persons, and much Incommodated Trade, and they gained a great Reputation by that means in all places; And with the great Forces they had in Readiness to pass from *Italy* into the Low *Countreys*, They kept all their Enemies in Check, and rendred themselves formidable from *Levant* to the *Ponant* with the same Forces.

The Condition of the *Venetians* was very different from theirs, and the present State of their Affairs had another Colour and Face;

Book II. They had an Enemy in hand, whose Friendship they were careful to cherish, and with whom they could not b'at difference without great losses, and without running of great danger; They were exposed, as it hath been already said, to the first Impressions of his Arms, and to the first strokes of the Tempest; some parts of their States by Sea, were at distance with th'others, and they could not relieve them but at great charges, and powerful Fleets; *Candy* alone was not less worthy of th'Ambition and Fortune of *Selim*, than the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, and that Island, which bridles the *Archipelagus*, and is the Passage, by which the Pirats of the *Ponant* ought of necessity t'enter, gives him as great cause of Jealousie as th'other, and no less desire of being their Master; And the nearness of the *Turk* to *Dalmatia*, *Esclavonia*, and *Frioul*, obliged them t'Arm on that side, and t'open all the veins of their Treasures to furnish so great an Expence. Notwithstanding all these Considerations, and all these difficulties, The League was concluded, The greater Interest over-swai'd the lesser, and the general Affrights, which threatned *Christendom*, recollected particular Affections, which had been estranged under a common design of Opposition, and to stop the Course, and repress the Violence of their Enemies. Since it hath been seen in the things which have preceded the Negotiation of the League now represented, what a dangerous Rock, and fatal Obstacle it is, to a Prince in trouble, to depend upon another to get out: It may not be unnecessary t'observe also the same Inconveniencies, and the same Stone of offence, in the things which have followed the Conclusion of that League.

When the League then was signed, and that each Confederate in the signing of it, had made his Reservation, as 'tis the custom, of some secret Intention, and some particular End, which he would not manifest; The time, which had been vainly spent in Deliberation, was redeemed in executing their Resolutions. The Confederate Forces were put to Sea with diligence, and the *Turk*, whom prosperity made insolent, and boasted, that he wished nothing more to *Christians*, than the courage t'attend him, heard that our Army sought him; In the mean time, his Army moved, and *Selim* knowing that ours drew towards his, would meet it half way, and take a part of th'advance, for to see ours, and to fight it. But though both Armies burnt with the same heat, and desired equally th'Encounter, 'tis a remarkable thing, that both of them were equally astonish'd at the first sight; so true it is, that Mans spirit stays not long in the same station; That the Sight of an Object hath another effect than the Thought of it; And that th'Apprehension of a danger, operates diversly, according to the nearness or remoteness of it; The two Generals onely, *Don John* of *Austria* for the *Christians*, and the *Bacha Aly* for the *Turks*, felt not the weight and chilness, which had seized th'Armies; And they resolved to fight, against the Judgment almost of all the Chiefs that did accompany them. *Don John* of *Austria* was violently

violently sollicited by the Counsellors of *Spain* that were with him, Book II.
not t' indanger the safety of all *Christendome*, and the fortune of his Master; They represented unto him, That although th'Hazard of the Battel was equal, the Consequences of the Victory were not the same; And that of Forces gathered together, as the *Christians* were, the like use could not be made, as of them which depended upon a single Prince, and were animated with the same Spirit, and carried on with the same Interest, as those of the *Turk*: But he, whose Soul was full of the Representation of the Glory this great Action promised unto him, and of th'nopes of the Victory h'ought to gain, made them this Generous Answer, *That it was time to fight, and not to deliberate, and that he had no need of Reasonings or of Counsel for that End, but of Courage and Execution.* Th' Event deceived not his Expectation; Fortune declared for the *Christians*, and the Victory they gained, opened the way for them to fairer Successes, if the *Spaniards* had not Betrayed them: But they had done enough, and according to their Intention, which was, to prevent the *Turk* from making any new Progress upon the *Christians*, or that the *Venetians* should at their Charges repair themselves of their Spoils, and be revenged of their Losses. 'Tis certain, that if *Don John* of *Austria*, after the Battel, had Advanced, in stead of Retiring, and had entred into th' *Archipelagus*, when all persons were affrighted, and under the consternation of the noise of that great and happy Event, H'had taken those Islands without Resistance, H'had shaken the Fortune of th' *Ottomans*, and *Constantinople* might have seen the *Crucifix* planted in the places, where the *Crescent* is adored; And *Selim* having lost his best Maritime Forces in the Battel of *Lepantha*, and the Sieges of *Nicosia* and of *Famagouste* having spent the best Men of his Land-Soldiers, he was almost void of Defence, and his Empire remained, like a great Body that shrunk with Weakness, and wanting Force to sustain it self, and to bear its proper Weight, falls of Necessity, so soon as it is Justled.

Second Discourse.

Of th'Unhappy Condition of Small Princes.

IT must not be conceived here, when I speak in the precedent Discourse of Petty Princes, who 've need of Relief from their Allies for their Conservation, and in pursuance thereof, have brought th'Example of the Republick of *Venice*; That I did intend to place that Common-wealth absolutely, and without Relation, in that Rank; or that I do not know, that amongst all the Princes of *Italy*, there's none greater, or whose power is established upon more solid Foundations, and upon a more immovable Basis; I had not then other aspect in th'Example made use of, than to make it appear, That 'tis a hard Chapter, and sad Necessity, to whomsoever

Book II. ver it happens, to depend upon anothers will, to repel a violence of Fortune, and to resist th' Effort of an Enemy, who being Superiour in Forces, is ever carried with a hotter passion to Plunder and destroy, than any friend can be to Conserve and defend; That at the best, there is so much time to be lost, and so many Rocks to pass over, before a Conclusion can be had of a Treaty, that 'tis a wonder, if in the mean time, some shipwrack be not suffered, or some great Loss.

Moreover, though the Republick of *Venice* bears in it self much greatness, and from all times, hath joyned to the Truth of a considerable Power, the Reputation of an extraordinary Wisdom; Nevertheless, 'tis true, That opposing it to the Great *Signior*, and making a Parallel with that proud Dominator of *Asia*, of *Afrique*, and of a part of *Europe*, It stands obscured, and therein, 'Tis to compare the Course of a little Stream to the Rapidity of a great River.

A word more, since it will not be impertinent, and that the Thread of our Discourse leads us to it; Of the Destiny of Princes, who are little in themselves, or who have but a moderate strength; 'Tis a pitiful thing to see to what Necessity the Petty Princes are reduced to maintain themselves, and to how many Real Evils they are exposed to conserve that vain Image of Liberty, and that sweet Illusion of Soverain Authority that doth bewitch them. In Expences, they consume themselves for their defence, and almost give All that might be taken from them, that Nothing might be taken from them; They are obliged t'observe all the Fancies and Motions of their Enemies and Friends; And if they subsist, 'tis not by their Strength, because they have none, but by their Weakness, and because their Countries are of so little Concernment, that they beget not a Desire in Ambitious persons, nor that Justice should be violated in the Conquest of them; or they are under shelter from th' Enterprises of th'one, by the Jealousie of th'other, and preserve their Liberty, for that th' Ambitious hinder one another to ceize upon them, and to become the Masters.

The Petty Republick of *Ragousa* maintains it self, by the Tribute it pays to the *Grand Signior*, and by the Presents it makes to the Great Persons of th'House of *Porta*, and th'Insolence of the Petty *Sangiacs*, their Neighbours, is restrained by Mony; And it doth Homage to the King of *Spain* to be free from disturbance; And permits, what may please the *Venetians*, who could be content to find some just occasion to possess themselves of it, if they durst, being a State very convenient for them, and seated in the midst of the *Gulf*, whereof they call themselves Lords; And it would make their Possession and Enjoyment the more complete and firm. There's no question, but the Duke of *Florence* would take from the Republique of *Luca*, the Liberty and Peace it enjoys, if *Spain* did not Support and Relieve it with its protection, which is not given but sold, as t'all th'others that depend upon it. It would be a great trouble to

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th'House of *Austria*, if that State should fall to the Mercy of a Power, that might prove too great by this Addition, after it had been made considerable; And would recall, if it might, the Bounties, as it boasts, laid out upon it, or retain the Recompences, as th'other says, that have Rewarded their Service; What had become of *Geneva*, without th'Alliance of the *Suisses*, and without the Protection of *France*? Who knows not how often the Dukes of *Savoy* have resolved t'assault it with open Forces, upon th'hopes of promised *Spanish* Relief, when they were in Amity with it, and with th'*Holy Chair*? which had not failed, if they'd been engaged in an Enterprise, whose Appearance had been holy, and Pretence pious; And how often also (Fortune and th'Incounter of things having discomposed their Designes, and sent into smoak th'hopes of those Princes) have they formed Conspiracies, and prepared secret Parties to surprize and carry that place? That if they now believe themselves free from that fear during the Minority of the Duke of *Savoy*, under its particular dependency upon *France*; and if the *Suisses* also seem to them a stronger Rampart, than they were, by reason of the present Conjunction, which renders them more Considerable to them, from whom they had cause to fear; so 'tis, that this perpetual Vicissitude, which alters human Things, and that Incessant Motion, wherewith the Wheel of Fortune doth turn them, may produce such a Conjuncture, when the *French* shall not have the Power, or the Will to protect them; And it would not be impossible, If the Revolution, which hath threatned *Germany* for many years, were Ended, But that it might extend to the *Suisses* Country, which is the Frontier, and that the Catholick Cantons might invade the Protestants, as they have often projected; And make by consequence the Rampart which defends *Geneva*, to fall on the Catholiques side. How much safer, and with greater advantage, might some of these petty Princes, be made the Government rather than under the protection of a great Prince? And might they not be happier to belong to a powerful Master, who would watch for their safety, and deliver them from the Fears and Expences they are at to conserve themselves? Their Privileges also would be as Entire as they are, and their Liberty greater; since at least, they should be Healed of the Passion, whereof hath been lately spoken, and of th'Importunate Pursutes made to them by those that Receive Pensions to Relieve them. The Princes to whom they shall give themselves, will be more concerned in their own Interest, than in what shall depend onely upon their Crown; And the Breach made in their Country, if it should be lost, would be much greater by th'Interest of Reputation, than if they lost it themselves, being upon their Faith, and charged solely with their defence; And the more they are at the devotion of their Friends, the more they will be indulged and in favour of their Inhabitants, lest, they should be perswaded to some change, and that th'easiness of shaking off the Yoak they have voluntarily put on, and

Book II.

Book II. and to return to themselves, oblige them t'undertake it.

But Mans condition is subject to so much Weakness, and our Reason is assaulted with so many Errors, that not onely Particular persons, but whole Companies are often deceived in th'Election of the Good that is most proper for them, and are taken with the Pomp and Apparences, rather than with the Solidity and Truth of things; Or else truly, the Custome they 've practised, and the Course exercised in some kind of Life, and in some form of Policy, is so strong a Band, and so powerful a Charm for them, who are taken with it, That 'tis very hard for them t'have so much as a thought to break and destroy; Or else th'Absolute Power and Soveraign Authority, are things so dear to them, who 'njoy them, That there's no Recompence for which they would quit them, and they had rather onely possess the shadow with Notorious Incommodities, than to live in th'easiest Dependency, and in the most commodious Subjection in the world; or at last, as there's nothing in this world, that hath not two faces, or Good, without Inconveniencies; so, though these Petty Princes are very sensible of the prejudice they suffer, to conserve the fancy of Soveraignty they Adore, the Matters of Subjection, be they never so pleasant, appear unto them more insupportable; And they would b'afraid, to worst their Condition in the Changing of it, and to quit a known and Certain Good, for a Doubtful and unknown Good; And exchange Evils, which the Newness would make Sharper and Heavier, for Evils, whose Custom had dulled the point, and allai'd the bitterness: What I have said, is not to prepossess the thoughts of any person, nor to perswade, what a man hath not a will to believe, but onely to shew one of the faces of the Medal; That by such a Representation, they may the better judge of th'other; or else truly they may take it for a game of Wit, and for an exercise of Reasonings, which is void of Design and Consequence.

As to Princes, who have but a Moderate Power, as the Duke of *Savoy* for Example, There's no question but the Nearness of two great Crowns, betwixt which he is shut, is his Security; And the Jealousie th'one hath, lest th'other seize upon the Dukes Countries, and take away that Medium and Barrier, which makes betwixt their Territories the separation, sollicites them effectively t'hinder the Conquest of it with all their Forces. There's no doubt, I say, but the *French* had rather have that Duke for their Neighbour, than the King of *Spain*, and that the *Spaniards* would not bear any thing with more impatience, than to see the Domination of the *French* extend to the Dutchy of *Milan*, which is the Basis that bears the rest of their Countries in *Italy*.

In the second place, it seems a happy Fate for th'House of *Savoy*, to produce such excellent Princes for Peace and War; And that Heaven had granted them High Qualities to supply, what it hath denied them of Power; That with Wit and Courage they might make

make the Counterpoise to the Greatness and Powers of other Princes. Add, that th' Alliances of Blood, which they've from all times contracted with th'one of the two Crowns, and hath been desired for their particular Ends, have much relieved them in time of Need, and have not onely served t'hinder them from falling, but to raise them from their falls. And speaking freely, Though the Duke of *Savoy* have no greater wishes to make than for the good Intelligence of those two Crowns, nor any thing more t'apprehend than their Contests, when they do fall out; Th' Ordinary Law of the Dukes Interest requires, That being unable to stand Newtral, he takes part with the *French*, and they ought not to do otherwise, unless some extraordinary Conjuncture of Affairs doth exempt them from it, without running Hazard to be lost, and overcome with the Forces of a great Kingdom, before *Spain* hath means to stop th'Inundation, and to divert the Spoils; whereof, there are so many Instances, that no person can make a question of it. And not to speak of *Savoy*, which may be taken without much Resistance, and where there is but one Fort which may be made useless by a Block-house that may almost defend it self; Who knows not in how little time, *Charls*, led by the perswasion of his wife, being a *Portugueſe*, and chained to the fortune of *Charls* the Fifth, was stripped of the best part of *Piedmont* by *Francis* the First, who had left his Posterity in their shirts, if the Virtue of *Philibert* his son, who defeated us at St. *Quintins*, and th'ill Fortune of *France*, had not opened by a Treaty of Peace, the Gate to many places formerly shut unto him, for many years of War? It would be a superfluous thing, no person being ignorant of it, To speak of the Conquest the late King made of all *Savoy*, and of the Progress he might have made in *Piedmont*, if a powerful Conspiracy that formed it self in th' Heart of his Kingdom, and the Reverence He bore the Pope, had not obliged him t' hearken to the Peace presented unto him from th'*Holy Chair*. Book II.

I pass also in silence th'Expeditions of the King in *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, which all *Europe* hath seen; To what extremities he forced the late Dukes of *Savoy*, in view of the *Spanish* and *Imperial* Forces, and in despight of their conjoyned Armies. The Dukes of *Lorrain* are not much different in Constitution, nor less obliged in Dependency upon th'Interests of this Kingdom, than those of *Savoy*. That if the present Duke *Charls* had well understood this Truth, which was of so great Importance to him; And if some evil Spirit, or rather some evil Counsellor, had not blinded him from seeing, what was so visible and so full of Light, H' had not suffered, as H' hath done; H'had not s' often conspired against *France*, nor quitted the Way his Predecessors held to their Happiness, to cast himself upon By-ways, which have made him wander from his Interest, and have led him to the Precipice wherein he is now fallen; At least, if he had maintained Newtrality betwixt the Princes in War, and had been a Spectator of the Quarrel, without being a Party, H' had been in esteem

Book II. of both sides, and might have made use of the Fortune of both Parties, and his Country having been for some time one of the Theatres of the War, had not been one of the faireſt Members of the Kings Conqueſts, and one of the principal Pieces of his Triumph.

Third Diſcourſe.

Wherein the Second Example is brought, ſpoken of in the Firſt Diſcourſe, to ſhew th' Artifices Princes uſe in aſſaulting of Forein Princes, t' hinder their Friends to Relieve them.

THe ſecond Example promiſed in the Firſt Diſcourſe, ſhall be taken alſo from the Republick of *Venice*, and from a difference had with th' Houſe of *Auſtria*, upon the Subject of the *Uſcoques*. I will now give the whole Picture, for the Curioſity of the Reader, and that he may obſerve the more diſtinctly, and in their proper places, the Draughts which are of moſt importance for my deſign, and deſerve a ſerious Pauſe, and a prudential Reflection. 'Tis a pleaſure to ſee in the Liſts two famous Combatants upon mutual Trials of their Skill; And they, who've Inclinations for th' Affairs of State, cannot be preſent at a more uſeful ſight; than th' Encounter and Juſtle of the two Powers of *Spain* and the Republique of *Venice*, dextrous in th' Art of Reigning, and almoſt equally ſtrong in Artifices and politique Stratagems; Such and the like Obſervations are the fruits that Miniſters of State, in Reading of Hiſtory, ought to make their principal Harveſt; And are the true Lights they ought to be furniſhed with to guide their Conduct, and to clear the rich Matter, whereof their Knowledge ought to be compoſed to make up their Profeſſion.

The Subject then of this Diſcourſe ſhall be the diſturbance of th' *Uſcoques*, which gave much trouble to the Republique of *Venice*, and travers'd it by the moſt ſharp and intricate Negotiation, it ever managed; And determined at laſt in a War, which conſumed a part of their Treaſure, and cauſed an infinite number of their Men to periſh.

Take the beginning and progreſs of this Affair. Th' *Adriatique* Sea, very famous in Antiquity for the great Pyracies exerciſed in it, was rendred by the care of the *Venetians* the ſafeſt Sea of the World; It was a protection for the Ships chaſed by the *Corſaires*, and for the ſafety of Navigation upon the coaſts of ſome other Princes, as upon the Coaſts of the Republique, and were not much troubled till *Soliman*'s time, when th' *Uſcoques* did violate their ſecurity; yet they were quickly ſuppreſſed by th' Arms of the Republique, which by the Peace made with *Soliman* in the year 1639, was obliged to clear the Gulf from Pyrats, and to repair, at their Charges, the Dammages, the Subjects of the *Grand Signior* ſhould ſuffer in their Navigation

vigation upon that Sea. This Calm lasted during the Time of th' Book II.
Emperour *Rodolphus* and *Mathias*, and of th' Archdukes *Ferdinand* and *Leopold*, and untill some of th' *Uscoques* did interrupt it, and the Gulf was so much vexed with their Violence and Robberies, That they extended them to the Republiques Havens, and in one of them Robbed a Galley, and having killed all the persons in it, by a Barbarian Inhumanity of the New World, did Eat th' Heart of the Captain that Commanded it.

These *Uscoques* are a sort of People gathered of many Nations, *Croates*, *Hungarians*, *Esclavonians*, and banisht persons from the Republique, who have neither Lands nor Industry, but Live and Maintain themselves by Rapines and Murders, And whom th' Enormity of Crimes, and the Fear of Punishments, or the Lusts of an Irregular Life, Exempt from the Bridle of Laws and Magistrates, have cast upon a violent Association, and into a bloody Commerce; They dwell in *Esclavonia*, otherwise called *Venade*, and anciently *Liburnia*, under the Mountain *Morlache*, which makes a part of that, which is called the Chain of the World; their principal Habitation and Den of Theeves, are the Towns of *Segna* and the Fortress of *Serisa*, which was taken from them by *James Zane*, Governour of *Dalmatia*. They're Subjects to th' Emperour and to th' Archduke of *Grets*, who may boast of Men at their Command, born only to d' Evill, and to be the Flayl of other Men; As God hath under the Generality of his Creatures, and in th' extent of his Empire, Devils, as good Angels, Thundrings and Lightnings, as well as delectable and wholesome Meteors. These persons then made Incursions upon th' *Adriatique* Sea, and though the pretence of their Robberies, was to make War to the *Turk*, and as good Subjects, they Armed themselves with that fair Colour, which is so familiar with their Masters; yet they did not forbear to Rob and put *Christians* to Ransome, and above all Men, the *Venetians*, as the *Turks*. And the Banner of St. *Mark*, was not more Inviolable to them, than th' half Moon of *Constantinople*. Their Inroads and Invasions stopped not at Sea; They Landed often, and passing by the Lands of the Republique forced into the *Grand Signiours* Countries, from whence they took all they could carry away, and returned Loaden with spoyls, whereof the Richest and most Precious were the Booty of the Officers of th' Empire, and of th' Archdukes; Besides the Duties belonging to th' Admiralty, which they paid, as 'tis the Custome of Protected Pyrates, better than any people of the World.

There was no need of this occasion, to put the *Turk* into an ill humour against the *Venetians*, and t' Heat the Blood of those Avaritious Souls, who do not use to suffer Losses from their Christian Neighbours, but are in perpetual Avarice to draw Tributes, or to take somewhat from them; Quick expressions were made of it to the Republique, and their Resentments were accompanied with sharp Complaints and Threatnings of Revenge, if they did not speedily re-

Book II. medy the disorder, and cause that evill to cease which increased dayly, and strengthned by their Connivence.

This was the Real Design of the Princes of th' House of *Austria*, and chiefly of the *Spaniards*, who endeavoured to raise an ill understanding betwixt the *Venetian* and the *Grand Signior*, and to put them into disorder; That the Necessity of their Relief, if the *Turk* broke with the Republique, might take away their desire of Crossing them in the Plot they had laid t'oppress the Duke of *Savoy*. But the Republiques Dexterity, which is as great as the World conceives it, and the Credit they had at the *Porte* which was not small, frustrated the *Spaniards* of their projected success; The Knowledge the *Turks* had of this Artifice, allayed th' Heat which began t' inflame them, and retained Patience and Moderation in the Bounds which are not natural unto them.

The like Accident hapned during the disorder of th'Interdict, and a design drawn from the same Idea, and Cast in the same Mould, and had an End very like it, and fell away in the same Manner, whilst th' ill Intelligence betwixt the Pope and the *Venetians* was much inflamed, and that Matters of all sides enclined visibly to a breach. The *Spaniards* sent the Marquis of St. *Croß* with forty Gallies into *Albania*, who took and plundered *Duras* a Town belonging to the *Turk*, and of some Reputation in that Province, Their intention was not t' Incommodate the *Grand Signior* by the Taking of a Place where they had no Hold, and could not take Root, They pretended only t' awaken by that Enterprize the proud Enemy, and t'oblige him to Revenge that affront, which could not be executed, but part of the Burthen of the War must fall upon the *Venetians*, and that their Countries would make out the first Scean where th'Ensigns of the *Turks* Armes would be displayed, or at least, that they would pass by their Gulf t' assault the Coasts of *Naples*, which would give a great Cause of Jealousie, and of Expence to the *Venetians*; but the *Grand Signior* having given vent to the Mine, no prejudice fell upon them against whom it was prepared; But instead of assaulting the States of the Republique, He sent t'offer them his Forces against the *Spaniards* and the Pope, and Commanded *Glassar Bassa* with five and fifty Gallies t'Advance towards *Gomonicics* near *Corfu*, to Joyn with the General *Paschaligo* as often as it should please the *Venetians*, who had not the Will or the Necessity to make use of a Remedy, whose Operation was most Dangerous, or t'enter into a Society wherein there was for them but a little Hope, and much Fear.

Lets return to our Subject, The Republique seeing that th' Affairs of th'*Uscoques* required a prompt Remedy, and that from that Root might bud, if it were not timely Cut off, some great Accident to their prejudice, put themselves into a posture to Repress it; for that purpose it tryed first, as 'tis their Custome, the way of Negotiation and Endeavours, before their Taking up of Armes; but in all their Transactions they received Words only without Effect, and perpetual Changes

Changes were given them, ſtudied Invaſions, and diſguiſed Deceits, and no Proceeding was ever more Oblique, more Empty, and more Irreſolute than what was practiſed upon them. When the Republique ſolicited th'Emperour to ſuppreſs th' Attempts of th' *Uſcoques*, and to divert their violences, they were remitted to th' Archdukes as Governours of the Countrey where th' *Uſcoques* dwelt; when they repaired to th' Archdukes for the ſame effect, They anſwered, that it belonged to th' Emperour, as Soveraign, to provide againſt it, and not to them, who had but a ſubaltern power; when they had brought their Anſwers together, and put them in a condition to make no further uſe of Collution and Deceipts, They ſaid, that th' Affair would be beſt determined in a Dyet of *Hungary*, which ſhould be called, becauſe the place of th' *Uſcoques* Dwellings were dependent, and a Feife of that Kingdome; Sometimes they proteſted, that it did not belong to them to receive Immediate Addreſſes, but to the Count *Soſimo* and to *Frangipani* as to the particular Lords of thoſe places; That Order was to b' obſerved, and the Degrees of inferiour Juriſdictions tryed before Addreſs could be made to the Supreme Authority. Book II.

But after many Evaſions and Windings, wherewith the Republique was delayed; It declared, that their Patience was abuſed, & that it would aſſume the Right of a Soveraign, and take Reaſon of them, who'd refuſed it. Agents were ſent unto them in the Name of th' Emperour and of the Catholique King, who promiſed that ſatisfaction ſhould be given them, and that Complaints ſhould be removed. But all their proffers proving to be Wind, and Vain and hollow promiſes, and the Republique having been long and too often Cheated by them, and preparing in Earneſt to Carry by Force, what they could not Gaine by 'ntreaty, Comiſſaries were ſent upon the places, who Baniſhed or put to Death ſome of the Meaneſt and Leaſt Culpable of th' *Uſcoques*, Touched not upon the Chiefs, or upon th'other moſt Conſiderable Members, But Cut off ſome Light and Unprofitable Branches of Evill, and left entire the Body and th'other parts of the Tree. And ſo the Diſorder being rather Pruned than Rooted up by this Proceeding, ſprouted more freely than before; And reſembled to the waters of a ſtopped Torrent, which over-flows with the greater Impetuoſity and Ruine, Th'obſtacle which held them in being taken away, than when the Waters run at Liberty, and their force not provoked by the Reſtraint. There's cauſe of Aſtoniſhment in the Number of Treaties, which were had upon that diſpute, as of the ſucceſs, and as it were of the deſtiny of thoſe Treaties, whereof not one was Executed, and that all of them vaniſhed into ſmoak. There was a Treaty at *Ratisbone*, at *Lints*, at *Pragne*, and principally at *Vienna* of the 12. of *May* 1612. By which it was Agreed that th' Archduke *Ferdinand* ſhould Clear th' *Adriatique* Sea of Pyracies, and t'hinder them of *Segna* to Rob on that Sea; But th'hour of Execution was deferred, and the *Spaniards* had uſe of the Continuance of th'

Evill

Book II. Evill, and that the Republique should be diverted out of *Italy*; That it might not be forward to look after the *Spanish* proceedings in *Piedmont*, and give less Heat to th' Affairs of the Duke of *Savoy*. All the Commissioners sent t' execute the Treaties, fell sick on the way, and were recalled by an affected pretext; And some Accident ever Intervened, which Disappointed the Republique of th' Hopes, wherewith it was so long fed, and made to know that Nothing but Iron could cure th'Ulcer which had Eaten to the bone, and festred by their Connivence.

This made the Republique to resolve upon a War against th' Archduke *Ferdinand*, and t'hinder th' Evill from streaming any further to fight it in the Spring; for this purpose, they commanded *Gradisque* to be besieged, and spared neither Money nor Men to Recover that place, which had been built against th' Invasion of the *Barbarians* in *Istria*, and opened them the Way to the Conquest of *Goritia*. The Republique with these two places, as with a stretched Chain, had shut up the passage to the *German* Troops, which might have descended into the *Friol* by the Mountains of *Carso*, and by the River of *Lizonso*. This conveniency was of great Importance to the *Venetians*, and th' opportunity of putting a powerfull Bar betwixt the *German* Territories and theirs, whereof they have alwaies Apprehended th'Inundation, gave occasions to some, to say, vvho measure alwaies the Designs of another, by their own Rule, and know no other Law t'Act by but their Profit, That the Proceedings of th' *Uscoques*, were but the Pretext of that War, and that the Conquest of these two places was the Cause. But they who Consider the pressing Interest the Republique had to repress th' Attempts of th' *Uscoques*, and the perillous Consequences which would arise to their prejudice by a longer Patience, will easily judge that they could not do less; And that in case their Conduct was to be blamed, It was for too much slowness and flegm, and by discovering too great an Insensibility, which emboldned th' Insolence of their Enemies, and encreased th'out-rages that were Acted against them. This is not the proper place of reporting the progress of that War, or the different faces that Fortune shewed, sometimes in favour of th'Archdukes, and sometimes in favour of the *Venetians*, and of the *Spaniards*, and to represent the various Means wherewith two powerfull Princes, as hath been said, in Artifices, and politique Prudence, made War, and the Mines and Counter-mines wherewith they mutually assaulted and defended themselves. The Breach made betwixt the *Venetians* and th'Archdukes, and the War growing Hot on both sides, The Duke of *Ossona*, whose humour was naturally troublesome, and who, as the Natural Heat cleaves to the Radical Humidity, when outward Aliment fails; not finding abroad Matter enough for disturbance, raised it in the Countries of his Master, which was the cause of his Ruine. The Duke of *Ossona*, I say, notwithstanding the Continuation of the Peace with *Spain*; Armes at Sea to Trouble the Republique; Scoures the

Gulf

Gulf under the conduct of *Alonzo Rivera*, takes away Ships, and to Book II.
be in a posture in case of necessity to be disavowed, and by an Artifice worthy of the *Spanish* spirit, sets forth this Fleet under his own Ensigns; But th'affairs growing by time more and more grievous, and th'Animosity of the Parties becoming stronger by the various accidents, which the War daily produced; He displayed the Royal Ensigns, and by a Novelty of latter Times, and unknown to former Ages, makes War without declaring of it, or confessing it to be made. That all this was done, It was said, by form of diversion, and t'exchange it with the *Venetians*, who fomented underhand, as it hath been reported else-where, the Duke of *Savoy*, and paid him every Month a certain sum of Mony to maintain the War on *Piedmont* side; And that the *Spaniards* being exercised by that Prince, might not touch upon their Frontiers, unfurnished of old Soldiers, and provided onely of Men, who served to make up the Number, as the *Militias* of *Italy*. The danger on the Land-side, which vexed the *Venetians* more than the *Spanish* Enterprises at Sea; And the Jealousie of conserving their *Campagnia*, wherein they are more sollicitous than any Persons of the world, occasioned, that they resolved to cause some form of Accommodation to be proposed in *Spain*, betwixt th'Arch-dukes and themselves; And to comprehend also the Duke of *Savoy*, with whom they were in society of Interests, and in some sort in community of Fortune. It was t'oblige the Catholique King upon that deference, not t'undertake upon their Estates, and not to treat them as Enemies, who had chosen him Arbiter of their differences, and committed their affairs so freely unto him. This Proceeding might have sweetned the Courage of the *Spaniards*, if they had been as Magnanimous as Proud, and allai'd th'Indignation they had conceived against the *Venetians*, by reason of the War they made to the Arch-dukes, and the secret Aid they gave to the Duke of *Savoy*.

But in stead of softning the *Spaniards* by this great Respect which was offered them, and abating of their Animosity, by a Submission that did them so much honour; They 'xpressed the greater difficulty, and resisted the more t'hear of any Accord. They were Exalted the more for th'Humility of the *Venetians*, and taking them for Persons that wanted Courage or Power, they handled them with Reproaches and Threatnings, they seemed without doubt the more Froward to be the more Entreated; They believed to find less resistance in making the Conditions of the Treaty, by th' Indisposition they shewed in Intermedling in th'Accommodation, and conceived, that they who were in the dirt, would think themselves happy to be delivered, though they were rudely drawn out, and that there was not a Haven too Incommodious to them, who were secured from shipwrack. But they were deceived, for th'affairs of the Republique were not then so desperate, as to repair to dishonorable Means t'establish it, and it never fell into such desperate disgraces, but that

it

Book II. it was always in power to rise again with honour. That the *Spaniards* in effect, were more reserved than th' had been, t'offend the *Venetians*, and that they did not violate on the Land-side the Peace th' had made with them, were the things th' effected, and the principal Intention and Design of the *Venetians*.

The Proposition of th' Accommodation being abortive at *Madril*, and th'humour of the *Spaniards* and of the *Venetians* Incompatible for that time; The differences were remitted to *Rome*, where the difficulties which interrupted the Peace were no more taken away than in *Spain*; for, as the *Pope* was suspected of passion in favour of the *Spaniards*; and that in th' Affair then acted, there were some also who believed, That the *Pope* was not dextrous enough to manage it, and would not willingly give others the glory to determine it; So th'Inclinations of their Ministers of State in *Italy*, were too strongly carried to War, that produced a present and certain Profit, which they had not in time of Peace, Accompani'd with th'hopes of some famous Success, which would have rendred their Administration remarkable. And they endeavoured still to gain Time, and the Game was plaid till the *Spanish* Arms had gained Reputation in the taking of *Verecil*; And the fears the *Venetians* had, that the *Spaniards* would not be restrained in the Frontiers of the *Milanois*, but over-run their Country, being by that Accident Encreased, They re-took the Paths they had quitted in relation to *Spain*, and to replay their old Piece, but much better adjusted, and with more Colour, to desire a Conclusion than they had done the first Time. The *Spaniards* also gave over their Subtilties & *Rodomontadoes*; The Duke of *Lerma*, a Person of a pacifique humour, and who had long sought for some specious way to get off with honour from the War of *Italy*, embraced the Conjuncture; It could not be more advantagious to th' Affairs of his Master, because the Peace came after the Victory, nor more favourable to his particular Affairs, because by that Means he discharged *Don Pedro* of *Toledo* from the command of th'Army, who was of a contrary faction, and began to lessen the Dukes Cabinet power, wherein th'other was in his proper Sphere, by the glory of his Actions done in the Field. He receives then with great Approbation the Proposals of the *Venetians*, promiseth to remember th' honour they did his Master, by the most profitable and most honorable Conditions he could procure them, and no Treaty ever had th' Apparance of a more certain Conclusion than this.

But as Tempests are not more frequent at Sea, than Revolutions at War, and that the Constitution of *Piedmont* had that in particular in it, As t'observe the form of the *French* Government, and was dependent upon th'Inconstancy and Changes of a Court, which at that time was more Changeable and Uncertain than ever; It happened, that the Marshal of *Ancre*, a passionate friend for the *Spaniards*, and a great Promoter of their Interests, being suddenly killed; And the Spring he held shut up of the principal Reliefs, which ought t'have

t'have passed to the Duke of *Savoy*, being opened by his death; such great numbers of *French* passed into *Piedmont*, That the Duke found himself in a condition to make his Enemies Army to quit the Field, which the Siege of *Verceil* had much disordered; That by taking of many Towns, he took from them the Remainders of their Army; That he was ready to force into the *Milanois*; and that 'twas in his power to give fear to the City of *Milan*, if the course of the Victory had not been interrupted from *France*, and the Thunder restrained that was ready to break out on the *Spaniards*; And Fortune that had ill used the *Venetians* before *Gradisque*, began to declare in their favour, and a glorious Re-enforcement of *Hollanders*, under the conduct of *Count John* of *Nassau*, promised them an happy success, and quick Reducement of that place, which had cost them great sums of Mony, and much Forein and Intestine Blood. Book II.

In this Change of fortune, and in this new face of Affairs, the *Venetians* changed proceedings in relation to the *Spaniards*, and took off the Masque under which they then concealed their Intentions, which never were, That the *Spaniards*, so powerful and formidable in *Italy*, by reason of th'Estates they there possessed, should become the Judges of the Quarrels there rais'd, and add to the Powers they had in *Italy* th'Authority of determining the Differences, and to regulate th'Affairs, wherein they'd no power; They commanded it then to be told the Catholique King, That their Ambassador had no command to make other addresses t' him, than to know his Sense, and take his Advice upon the Matter of the War of *Gradisque*, and that of *Piedmont*; And that they 'ntended to consult him, as a Friend in that Matter, but not to refer the Decision t' him, and to constitute him for Judge. And so giving the *Spanish* King thanks in magnificent Terms, and in words of great Respect, which they've accustomed to lay down in abundance upon things they've no Will to grant, They disappointed the *Spaniards* of their design, and reserved for *France* th' Honour, the *Spaniards* had passionately desired; So that in the whole course of this Intrigue, and in all this Cabinet-War, the Field remained to the *Venetians*, who found not nevertheless their Account in *France*, but either th'Interest of the State, or the Genius of the Ministers of State, too much carried t'oblige *Spain*; or for fear of disobliging it; Was the cause, that too great a respect was had to the Dignity of that Crown, or too little to that of the Republique, and to th'Interests of the Duke of *Savoy*. Th'Emperors and th'Arch-dukes discontentments had upon this Peace against the *Spaniards*, is not to b' here concealed, nor their Complaints against an Accommodation, that had not better'd their Condition, but had return'd them to the posture they were in by the Treaty of *Vienna*, and had put them into th'Haven, from whence they were put out, after th'expence and hazards of an unprofitable Navigation. Thus the *Spaniards* have accustomed, to sacrifize to their Interests some of their best friends, and to strain them to their

Book II. Ends, without Exception of Means or Persons. Th'use of this Artifice was not new in the world, nor th'Invention of the *Venetians*; It was practised long ago by *Charls* th'Eighth, to divert *Henry* the Seventh the King of *England* from relieving the Duke of *Britany*, to whom h' had a purpose to make War; T'allay then the storm that might arise from that side, and stop the Relief which *Henry* might bring or send in favour of his Neighbour, *Charls* made a shew of desiring the Peace, and offered to submit t' *Henry* the differences h' had with the Duke, and t' acknowledge him Arbiter and Mediator of the Quarrel. *Charls* with this delicate Bait and subtil Charm of Honour, disarm'd *Henry*'s warlick spirit, who was fully engaged with affections and inclinations t' Aid the Duke of *Britany*; But *Charls* made so powerful and quick a Levy, and raised such great Forces, that the Duke was over-run before notice was taken of it in *England*, That *Charls* was entred into his Country with an Army, and the Tragedy ended before it was known that the first Act was plaid.

Fourth Discourse.

Some Rules that Princes, and especially they that are Weak, ought t' observe, when they have need to make use of the Relief of their Friends.

IN the precedent Discourse hath been seen th'unhappy Destiny of Weak Princes, when they are assaulted by Powerful Princes, and the various Artifices exercised t'hinder or slacken the Reliefs, which might come to them from their Friends. But since 'tis necessary, that there be such Princes in the world, and that in the distribution of the parts of that little Engine, for which men give themselves so much Labour, and make so great a noise, Equality hath not been observed; 'Tis of necessity that the Weaker follow the General Law, and remain the Prey of the Stronger, wh' assault them, or that they seek protection from them wh' are able to give it, and secure themselves under the shadow of their Authority, or by the force of their Arms; some Rules are to b' observed, as of Importance to be known; The first is; That they make the strongest preparation in their power t'oppose th'Enemy that comes t'assault them, and to resist his first Impetuosity, which ordinarily is the most violent, and put by their first strokes, which are ever the most Dangerous.

For this purpose, and in this publick Necessity, they 're to sell or engage their best and most precious things; To sink deep into the purses of their Friends, and upon their Subjects to make great Levies; And 'tis better for their Subjects t'endure a little blood-letting, and for a short time, by their Prince, than totally and for ever ruin'd by Strangers; And a wasted Country, as 'tis said, is better for him than

than a lost Country; and Subjects a little plundred, than Subjects Book II.
constrained to change Master; And though they cannot long bear that extraordinary Levy, nor resist that excessive Charge, It may fall out, that th'Heat of th'Assailant may grow cold by a greater Resistance made on the sudden than was expected; And may not b' offended at Propositals of Accommodation, and that a door b' opened unto them to get out with Honour from an Enterprize, whose Beginnings being unhappy, the Progress might b' abated without doing more than making of a Noise, and may return to th'Haven without other danger than the fear of a Tempest.

Or if th' Enemy do not withdraw upon th' ill usage Fortune affords them at the first Attempt, and refuse to quit the place, or to retire; In gaining of time they 've done much; which is the great Remedy of Unfortunate and Weak persons, and gives Means to their Friends to come to their Relief, and to bring them fresh Troops, wherewith they may not onely maintain themselves, but cause the face of War to change, and turn the Defence int' an Assault, and become th' Assailants of their Enemies. The Duke of *Savoy*, Grand-father of the present Duke, did the like, since the death of the late King, in the Wars the *Spaniards* made him, or H' had been suddenly over-run at the first sight, and swallowed by the *Spanish* powerful Armies, wherewith the Governour of *Milan* entred *Piedmont*, and gave fear t'all *Italy*, but to that Prince; And yet, with that wise and bold proceeding, he not onely received and resisted their first assaults, but gave them affronts; And precedent it hath been observed, that after the loss of *Vercel*, which had it been well defended might have been kept, strengthned by that fair and flourishing Relief *Sir* of *Esdiguieres* brought unto it, who put the *Spaniards* upon the Defensive, and compelled them to desire Peace, which was concluded at *Paris* to their Advantage.

The second Rule is, That as great sums of Money are to be expended, and a great Army to be raised, 'tis of great importance to make them timely, and not t'expose them to th'hazard of surprises, which being dangerous in all sorts of affairs, are much more in the business of War, and d' ordinarily make breaches, by which ill fortune enters so far into the Country, That it proves a difficult matter to drive it out; And it often falls out, that they die of those strokes, or are long sick of them; And 'tis what sometimes hath been to be desired by way of Addition, to the Wisdom of the *Venetians*, and to their excellent Conduct; Their Historians also confess, That one of the causes of the loss of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, was the delays they used in preparing against the Storm which they saw coming. And in the Motions, which troubled *Italy* about the Succession of the last Duke of *Mantoua*, we 've seen them Arm slowlier than was necessary for their very design, and have suspended many times th' Orders and Commissions they 'd given for the War, upon uncertain and wild reports of a Treaty of Peace, and

Book II.

were onely a studied Deceit, and an affected Artifice of the *Spaniards*, for to possess them with a coldness and relaxation of spirit; 'Tis certain at least, That if after the King had forced his passage at *Suza*, and taken away the Barrier that shut up their Entry into *Italy*, They had not recalled th'Orders given to their General t'enter into *Cremona*, They had taken of the *Spaniards* some eminent Advantage, whilst they wanted Forces, failed of Courage, and th Inclinations of the people were adverse unto them.

Who can, I say, doubt, but if they had taken possession of *Cremona*, which opened her Arms unto them, and breathed after so easie a Yoke, as theirs; but that they had greatly fortifi'd the Party which they favoured, and had obliged, it may be, by that Declaration, the *Spaniards* t'have observed the Peace of *Suza*, and t'have caused to be sent to the Duke of *Mantoua* th'Investitures Accorded by that Treaty, rather than t'have shut themselves up betwixt two so considerable Powers as *France* and *Venice*, and some other Forces, which *Venice* might have drawn t' its assistance? or if the War had re-kindled, as it did the following year, and the *Spaniards* touched with th'Affronts they received from all parts, had been forward at any price to take revenge of the shame by Arms; The War without all doubt had taken another form, If the *Venetians* had been Engaged in it; *Mantoua* in Apparance had not been lost; All the designes of th'Enemies had been Abortive, And instead of th'unhappy success of th Expedition of *Valese*, for being undertaken too late and with precipitation, The Republique had seen the fruits ripen at leasure, if it had been timely acted, of so generous a Design, and without much hazard; Nor had it been for that Action the more Hated of th'House of *Austria*; It had been the more respected; And all *Italy* had taken the greater courage for defence of the common Liberty, if it had had before their Eyes so great an Example of Courage from them, who give every day so great Examples of their Wisdom. But however, 'tis the Lot of Human Wisdom to be sometimes defective, or rather, 'tis the property of Evil Events to b'always attributed t'Unreasonable Causes; or else 'tis the Nature of all th'affairs that are put in Deliberation t'have many faces and reasons of all sides, which encline t'Act or not t'Act one manner or other; 'Tis the Privilledge of Fortune, or to speak more Christianly, the Right of Providence, which governs the World, to frustrate, or cause to b'observed, as it shall seem good, the reasons of th'effects intended, and of the promised success.

The third Rule shall be, That if the Prince, who is assaulted, endeavours t'execute what hath been advised him to do, and yet shall have need of Relief from his Allies to make th'Evil to cease, or to stop th'Enemies further progress, He must make use of their Forces for Diversion, and cause them to march into th'Enemies Country, if he be not over-pressed in his own Country, and if th'Evil he feels or fears may attend that Remedy. By that means he may ease his

Country

Country of them, who would have laid it waste, and had sworn the ruine of it, and will secure it also from the spoil of Auxiliaries, which cannot b' avoided; And which may properly be compared to Physicians, who cannot cure the body without th' use of it, nor drive away th'ill humours which cause Alteration, without the disordering of it, and without leaving also sometimes some Ill Impression. As to the success of this Diversion, 'tis Impossible, but it must prosper, and have th'effect it Aims at, because it hath the character and mark of efficacious diversions, and to b'executed upon a Country, which is ordinarily of greater Importance, and of stronger Concernment, being his own, to th'Enemy, than that from which they would force him; And there's no apparance, That a wise Physician will neglect th'Heart, or some other Noble part, t'intend the cure of a light Contusion, or of some small Scratch. Book II.

Let's also say, before return be made t'our principal Subject, and for the better clearing the Matter of Diversion, which will not much divert us, and is a Neighbour to't, That one of the most memorable and the most judicious Diversions, which the past Age hath seen, was that which *Francis* the First made upon the *Spaniards*, when the Constable of *Bourbon*, the Marquis of *Pescary*, and th'other Chiefs of th'Imperial Army, came t'assault *Provance*; Instead of marching streight t'oppose them, and to fight them in his Kingdom; He marched quickly with his Army int' *Italy*, and fell upon the State of *Milan*, and upon the Country in most favour with th'Emperor, and upon the parts of all the rest of his Estates, which were dearest t' him next to *Spain*; nor was he disappointed of his Thoughts; for th'Imperial Army failed not at the first Noise of that Expedition to quit *Provance*, and to march towards *Italy* with so strange a Nimbleness, and such an Incredible Diligence, That it prevented our Arrival in the State of *Milan*, and gave means to recruit and, fortifie some places, which were the security of the rest.

That if the Subsequent Success was as fatal to us, as the first favourable; And if the Cause of that War was Ended in th' Imprisonment of King *Francis*, and by the Ruine of his Army; This Disgrace ought not to b' Attributed to the Nature of the Diversion, which was very pertinent; nor a Prudential Cause charged with the production of a Malignant Effect, which proceeded from another Cause; This Disgrace, I say, is to b'attributed to the design of Fortune, which undertook to mortifie *French-men* by th'ill Conduct of their Prince, and by the faults of His Ministers of State, and by that unhappy and undiscreet Diversion, which he made upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, whither he sent the Duke of *Albany* with a part of his Army; For besides the great Weakness it brought to the Remainder of his Forces, and the fair Game it made for his Enemies t'advance for th'Assault, as they failed not to do in that Weakness; He considered not, that the Kingdom of *Naples* being less Important to th'Emperour, and of less Esteem with him, than the State

of

Book II. of *Milan*, His Army could not abandon the *Milanois* to Relieve *Naples*.

The Fourth Rule, That if an inevitable Necessity b' upon a Prince, to procure Forein Forces to march int' His Country, and strengthen his Army; It may b' of great advantage t' him t' have need onely of moderate Forces, and such as b' inferior t' his: That he may always give the Law, and receive no Jealousie from them, lest they should put him int' a kind of Subjection in the sight of his Subjects, and abate the glory of Authority which governs his People, and th' opinion of his Greatness, by that mark of Dependency, wherein he must inavoidably fall upon the Reception of strange Armies. I speak not of other Inconveniencies, which may arise upon th' introduction of Strangers into a Country, and particularly, if Ambition enters with the Power, or if the Beauty of the Country, or Riches of th' Inhabitants, may serve them for Temptation to desire it, who being born under a Rigorous Climate, and in Salvage Countries, are but too much tempted to change Dwellings, and to gain Richer Habitations. *Philip*, father of *Alexander*, by such an Invitation, attempted the Liberty of *Greece*, whereof the *Romans*, as hath been observed, made a Conquest. That the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, and other *Septentrionals*, have possessed themselves of their Countries, who called them to their Relief; And that six thousand *Turks* marching from *Asia* into *Europe*, to serve th' Emperours of *Constantinople*, charmed with the sweetness and felicity of that pleasant Country, invited their Country-men t' establish themselves in *Europe*; And it was the first cause of the Revolution of that Empire. Wherefore wise Princes and Republiques, well instructed in th' Art of Governing, have at all times avoided th' Use of so dangerous a Remedy, and th' Exercise of a Means so full of Jealousie, as th' Introduction of a great Forein Army into their Country. In the War which th' antient *Romans* made against *Pyrrhus*, and when by the gain of some Battels, that brave Prince had shaken the foundations of that Republique, They refused the *Carthaginian* Army, sent to their Relief under the command of *Mago*, and resolved in that great Extremity t' owe onely to Virtue and to their own Powers, the Re-establishment of their Affairs, and the Return of their Fortune.

After the Rout of *Giragdade*, and the sad success of that Battel, which at one Blow took from the *Venetians* all their Lands; The Republique would not accept th' offer of Forces made them by *Bajazet* the Second, nor use that Means to deliver themselves of th' ill fortune that pursued them, which was violent, and to get out of a Precipice which was dangerous; Tis certain, that their ill fortune could not be greater, nor the Precipice deeper; All *Christendome* was combined against it, and a powerful victorious Army; And it had lost an Army, when it was impossible for them to raise another; Terror and Despair entred int' all their Towns, upon the

Noise

to

Noise of this Disgrace; And by a strange Motion of Prudence, and an Extraordinary Act of Policy, it was constrained t' advise their Subjects t'open their Gates to the Victorious, and to do that without breach of Duty, or guilt of Treason, which the Consternation they were fallen into, and the Current of th'Enemies Victory would have forced upon them; And yet, chose rather to seek safety and resurrection in its Wisdom, and in the sole Means left to restore it self, by th'Imploying of all their strength, for the Disunion of the Confederates, and Breach of the League, than to draw into their Country those barbarous Soldiers, from whence they could not withdraw them when they would, or t'expose *Italy* to the same condition, the Neighbour Provinces to *Constantinople* were in, under the *Turk*, as hath been formerly spoken. Book II.

In the growth of Heresie in this Kingdom, and of the first fires which burnt it for the matter of Religion; *Francis* the second refused *Philip* his Brother in Law, who fearing that the Contagion of th'Errour and Treason, which reigned amongst us, should pass into *Flanders*, and complete the Corruption of his Subjects, that had then taken some taste of it, sent to make offer of all his Forces to fight them; The Duke of *Alva* also, after h' had obtained in the *Low-Countries* many happy Successes against the Rebels of his Master, besought *Charls* the Ninth to give him leave to bring 15000 Foot and 5000 Horse, all Men of War, and accustomed to Victory, to reduce his Subjects t'Obedience.

But the King, by th'advice of his Council, refused also that offer, and would not in accepting of it, either discover the Weakness of his Reign, or give to the factious Religionaries more pretence to call Strangers to their Relief, and to them the more colour of coming into his Country; or t'introduce into th'Heart of his Kingdom an Army of valiant Persons, whom He could not easily drive away, who would have demanded places of security for their Entry, and Immense Dammages for their Return, and might in time be the cause of a more difficult and longer War than what troubled him. That whereas a part onely of his Subjects were in question, and that the Rebels to be reduc'd to reason, made a profession of fidelity, and by consequence might easily be disarmed by Indulgence, when it should appear too dangerous to repress them by Force; H' had been under the Necessity of a defence against his Subjects and Neighbours, and to fight Enemies, wh' having some Title of Justice, and making War without Remorse or Scruple of Conscience, would have made it the more violent, and the less susceptible of Accommodation.

From what hath been now said, a fresh Rule to clear it may be raised; That an Army of Forein Forces to be drawn int' a Princes Country, and in so great a number, as to give the Law, or raise Jealousie in him that Imploys them, is to b' avoided; And that H' observe, also if it be possible, two things; T'Endeavour, that the stranger Forces

Book II. Forces depend more upon the Prince that calls them in and pays them, than upon him who leads them in and commands them; And that their Relation t' him be stronger and more absolute, than their Dependency upon their Commander. Th' other thing is, t' hinder their Conjunction in a Body, and to keep them always sever'd, if there be not special cause to draw them together, and to rejoyn them. The *Venetians* not long since Endeavoured to divide the Troops, which the *Sir* of *Roquelaure* brought them, and to take the Command from him: And the *Hollanders* laboured to do the like to the *Count* of *Mansfield*, after he had Relieved *Bergenopson*; But they met with bold spirits that resisted their Artifices, and defeated the subtil Attempts of their Policy; 'Tis true, That this Trial is not to be made upon any Persons, but Casual Chiefs, who depend onely upon their Sword, and upon the Prince that Imploys them, and having drawn together such Troops by their Industry and Credit, maintain them also in Dependency by their Authority and Address.

As to th' Impeding the Conjunction of Forces, that might make great and considerable Bodies, 'Tis an undubitable Means to divert the Disorder, and to prevent the License, which of custom grows in Mercenary souls, from th' Hopes of Impunity; As th' hopes of Impunity are usually ingendred from the multitude of Culpable persons: From this Root, Sedition and Mutinies have often budded in th' Antient and Modern Armies; And the boldness of the *Pretorian* Troops, did heretofore stream from this spring, in killing and choosing their Emperours, and abused too often the Royal Purple, in taking it away, and giving it to whom they pleased, by that blind incitement, which animates Courages, and being not Regulated by Reason, are not restrained by Respect or Fear. *Seianus*, the greatest Favorite of all Ages, and the first Example the world hath seen of excessive Favour, Having the Command of the *Pretorian* Troops, resolved to draw them together, To render himself the more formidable by the quick and present Relief had in hand of the best Soldiers of th' Empire; The Soldiers provided their Quarters, and drew them into the form of a Cittadel to Command *Rome*, and t' hold in subjection the Capital City of the World. The great number of *Janissaries*, which the *Grand Signior* keeps at *Constantinople*, is the cause of the Tumults which often arise there, and of th' Insolencies they commit in that City, which are extended sometimes to the violating of the *Seraglio*, the *Grand Signior*'s Palace, To compel their Prince to deliver unto them his Favourites, To do Justice, as they say, upon them, and not to spare his Person, but even to kill him. That if the Prince ought t' avoid with great care, and for the Consequences which have been represented, the drawing together of a great Number of his subject Soldiers, H' ought much more to be careful to keep them sever'd, so long as it may conveniently be done, who depend not upon Him, but by the consideration, as strangers do, of their Pay; And respect him at the Rate they

they fear Him, and fear Him at the Rate of his power to Punish them. Book II.

The sixth Rule is; That a Petty Prince Assaulted by a Greater, wh' hath need of a more prompt and Efficacious Remedy, than Diversion, against the Violence that oppresseth him, before He resolves to receive int' His Countrey a Forein Army, stronger than his own, and to give him places if they be demanded for Security and Retreat, ought to make a just and exact Comparison of th'Evills, to which he doth expose Himself in the doing of it, and of them, he must of necessity fall into, if He do it not; ought t' Examin Coldly and without Passion, the Nature and Circumstances of th' Affair which vexeth him; The conditions of his Enemies and of his Friends; The Faith and Ambition of all of them; The conveniency of his Countries or of any of his places for them; And the Comparison and Examination being ma le of th' Inconveniencies, he must run of all sides, H' ought to make Choice of the least offensive; H' ought t' Agree with his Enemies, if they are tractable, or make use of the Relief of his Friends, if they are Faithfull; And when H' hath made a good Choice, and shall put into th' Haven without Shipwrack, He must praise God for it, as his peculiar Grace and Extraordinary Favour.

The last Rule is; That in General, a Prince ought if He can t'have one or two Fortresses, for the security of his Countrey, and to serve for a stop to the Forces which may over-run him, and to th'Invasions of an Enemy, who without Impediment may suddenly become Master of it. For example, The Duke of *Sax* at *Dresde* and *Vittemberge*; The Marquis of *Brandburge* at *Custrin* and *Spando*; The *Lantgrave* of *Hess* at *Castel* and *Sigenham*. In these places Consists without all doubt the safety of their Countries, and without them they would become the Prey of the first Possessor; As are the Countries of some other Princes of *Germany*, wh' have no Fortresses upon their Frontiers; And what had become, I pray, of *Montferrat*, but for the *Citadelle* of *Casall*, that Excellent Piece, which had defeated so many and so great Armies of th' Enemies, whose Situation and the Jealousie given by its strength, have invited to besiege it?

But Care must Here be taken of a specious Fault, and t' avoid the Defects of some Princes, who through Weakness fall to th'Extremity of other Princes by a certain Irregularity of Fancy, not to think themselves Powerfull or Considerable Enough. If their Estates be little, and their Revenue small, they ought not to Charge their Countries with many strong Places, nor t' imitate Intemperate persons, wh' Eating t' excess, Cannot Digest what they Eat, and fill themselves with so great a Quantity of ill Humours, that the Natural Heat cannot dissolve them, or discharge the body of that plentifull spring of Incommodities, and of that fruitfull Mine of Maladies. The desire of many Fortresses ariseth from an irregular Appetite, and from an Intemperate spirit, which the Prince being unable to finish,

Book II. and to furnish with necessary Provisions, or to keep the Garrisons well manned and paid; some of them are lost by some of the named Defects; And it happens also that th'Enemy upon the Taking of a Fort finisheth the Fortifications and Garrisons, and by that means makes himself so strong an Establishment in that Countrey, and takes so deep Rooting, that 'tis a difficult Business to get him thence, but by a Treaty of Peace, and by that Lassitude and Inability which the War produceth, and Compels him t' hearken t' an Accommodation.

From this Principle also is derived another Inconveniency that puts the whole State in danger, and Cuts the Sinews and Nerves, which Bind and Joyn the parts together; That th' Excessive Number of Garrisons the Prince is obliged to keep, is the cause that He becomes Weak when he is to draw into the Field; And that th' Enemy being Master without resistance of the flat Countrey, all places at once are blocked up and lost, and at Contest, which shall begin to Render, for want of an Army to relieve them, and t' avoid th' ill usage of an unnecessary Defence, and having no reasonable Means of security, can have no Thoughts but of perishing a little later than others, and of Consuming th' Assailants by delay.

The Dukes of *Savoy* are fallen into this Inconvenience; In having a great Number of Fortresses, and the greatest part of them Accompanied with some of the Defects which have been represented; The Situation truly of their Countrey, and particularly of *Piedmont*, shut up in the midst of the Countreys of very great and formidable Princes, as a King of *France* and a King of *Spain*, hath contributed much to this Disorder; And that some of the places have been often taken; And 'tis impossible but that amongst so many weak Forts in their Countreys, some Fort or other will be taken, and that a very dangerous prejudice must arise from that Improvidence. The Duke of *Rohan* hath also observed in his Remembrances, That one of the Ruinous Causes of th' *Hugonot* party, and Principal Means of the dissolution of that great Body, was the great Number of their strong Cities; And that by Endeavouring to save them, they lost them all; And unable to dispute the Field, with the Kings Armies, as it formerly had Done, That they fell under the Virtue and Power of the King. It belongs only to the *Flemings* and to th' *Hollanders* t'have their Countries full of strong Holds, and all those strong Holds Manned with powerfull Garrisons, and at the same Time to raise great Armies.

But as to the *Flemings*; Though their Countries be of the best of the World, and are called th' *Indies* of *Christendom*, by reason of their Wealth; It had been quickly drawn out and Left Drye, but for th' Influence of *Spain*, and th' Abundance of both *Indies* laid out to nourish the War, and to support the Motions which have vexed that people for many years; Nor hath it been alwaies in their power to furnish the Necessities of that War, and th' Hunger of that insatiable Monster.

Monster. And we've often seen th' Armies of that Countrey perish for want of Moneys, and from that want Considerable Bodies of Mutineers t' arise, as so many Republiques, which subsisted by Order and Discipline without Rejoyning to the body from whence they drew away, till payment was made of what was due to them, and so thereupon desisting from being their Princes Creditors, they returned to the Duty of Subjects. Book II.

As to th' *Hollanders*, who knows not also that they 've not been alwaies in their present Condition, nor ever had so many strong Holds or so well Manned as now they Have; That they've been long upon the Defensive, and with so Mean an Army, As that they believed to Gain what they did not Lose, and t'overcome effectively, when they were not overcome; It was at that time when they subsisted only by the good pleasure of others, and by the subventions and Reliefs which came to them from *France*, *England*, and *Germany*; when th' had not made Acquaintance with th' *Indies*, or Robbed the *Spanish* Fleets, or sailed into the *Levant* Seas, but under the Banner of *France*; when they were not Masters of Trade and Navigation, as they are at this day; but since the Sea hath Enriched them of all sides, and hath caused great Wealth to come to them from all parts of the World, 'Tis no wonder if their Forts and Armies are supplied with all Necessaries; And being so great Husbands, and taking so true Measure of all things, which is the property of Republiques, They never fall short in their Military Expeditions; And yet, 'tis not to be denied, but that they cannot draw their Armies several years together into the Field without being weary of it, and consuming of their Treasury, and that they will have need of rest and breath, or to receive Contribution from abroad, as they have often received from *France*.

These are General Propositions, which for the most part are true, but not alwaies, no more than the greatest part of other Rules of Policy. 't will concern the prudence of Governours t' Adjust them to the Nature of th' Affairs they 've in hand, and to the condition of their present Conjunctures; But not t' adjust th' Affairs and Conjunctures to the Propositions and Rules.

Fifth Discourse.

What Kind of Confederacy and Correspondency may be formed betwixt a Prince and the Subjects of another Prince in Rebellion with their Prince; That the King ought in Consequence t' Aid the Catalans.

HAving discoursed the Manner of the Relief that ought to be given or taken amongst Soveraigns; It shall not b' Impertinent t'Examine here another Matter which is fastned to it, in searching

Book II. what Kind of Confederation and Correspondency may be formed betwixt a Prince and the Subjects of another Prince in Rebellion with him. Whereupon, I first say, That the Risings of the people against their Prince, and th'Intestine Agitations of States, being ordinarily the stroaks of th'Anger of Heaven, or rather th' Effects of his Justice, have also very different successes, according to the different provocations; sometimes they make a Total change, & introduce New forms, if it be resolved in the Councel of Providence; And then no Force nor humane Industry can divert th'Event; A small spark doth then kindle so great a Fire, that no Relief can put it out, And *Daniels* little stone overthrew Huge and Prodigious Statues. The defection of the *Suisses* from th'House of *Austria* of *Germany*, and the defection of the *Flemings* from th'House of *Spain*, are such cleer proofs of this Truth, that others are not to be Looked after. Sometimes these Disorders are nothing but bare Threatnings from God to Direct Princes, and the People wh' have offended him, to Repentance; And then, whatsoever Disposition there may be in th' Inclination of Second Causes, and how steep soever the descent or Precipitation, yet the Fall is prevented, as by Miracle, the disorder of Affairs is reconciled against all hopes, as th'Intrigue of a Comedy, and Things return to their first Beeing, without discovery almost of the Way of their Return. *France* hath made many Experiences of this Truth, without speaking of other Countries. The most Modern of all shall here content me, The descent of th'*English* in th Island of *Rhé*. There was no Apparence to the contrary, but that their Design ought t'have been Executed, and they t'have been Masters of that Island; And therefore if it had hapned, It had been a difficult Matter to resist the Tempest that then Threatned us, and to secure from Loss some Provinces of this Kingdom.

The Mouths of the Rivers of *Loyre* and *Garronne* which th'English Naval Army ought t'have seized upon, and by consequence all Manner of Communication shut up from thence to *Britany*, *Poitou*, and *Guienna*. A considerable Army ready to Joyn with th'English, and marching from *Languedock* had been Encreased by a great Number of *Hugonot* Forces, that would have joyned with them, as a River swells in Rowling, by many Rivers that do discharge themselves into it; A great Captain at th'head of them to make use of all Advantages they should gain, and all that Fortune should offer them, and many other Circumstances formed a very dangerous Conjuncture against *France*.

'Tis not to be doubted, but that the Virtue and Fortune of the King, The Prudence, The Courage and th'Activity of his Ministers of State, and the Forces of a powerfull Kingdome might have Corrected all that this Conjuncture had of Malignant and deplorable in it; But 'tis also to be Confessed, that they could not have been put to a stronger proof, and that Less than that, was not Convenient to break the Designs of the Rebellion, and t'hinder th'Establishment of it in

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the State, which might have lasted as long as the Monarchy. But the Book II.
Love of God to *France* was so great, as not to permit it to come to such a proof; And the Glory of the King was to be raised upon a fairer Occasion than the Necessity of the Defence. For th' Invaders of the Island of *Rhé* were struck with the Spirit of Confusion from the beginning of th'Enterprize; A fatal Blindness, which did not abandon them from the time it had ceized them, till they were lost, and had made Abortive one of the boldest and best laid Projects, which of a long time hath been contrived; And it hapned unto it, as to those formidable Engines, sometimes seen in War, which a little thing renders useless and unprofitable, at th'Instant that they begin to break.

In the second place, I say, That it must be laid for Foundation and Maxim; That Subjects may of themselves rise against their Soveraign, and break the Bonds of Obedience which they owe him, by the sole strength of their Passions. But that this Rising can maintain it self in heat, if it be not heated from abroad; Or this new Liberty long Lived, if some Forein Power did not nourish it, Is that which hath been seldom seen, and there be but a few Examples of it, But there are a great number which testifie, that th'One cannot be without th'other; And that a Revolt is Ill seated, that hath for Foundation but the Forces of a Rebellious People. I will also make use, to confirm this Truth, of th'Example of the *Suisses*, and of that of the *Flemings*, because I have already made mention of them. There's no Question, but that after th'Inhabitants of that salvage and rude Country, to which the Village of *Suits* hath given the name, had taken Arms against the Princes of *Austria*, and to deliver themselves from that Long Violence, and Insupportable Tyranny, which they exercised over them by their Governours, and that they were delivered from the Domination of their bad Masters; But that the Republique remained a long time Trembling, and ill Assured; That it did not begin to settle and draw a free Air, but under the protection of *Charls* the Seventh, and received not its entire Consistency, and its perfect Establishment, but from the Alliance it made with *Lewis* the Eleventh. When the *Flemings* had resolved to shake off the yoke of *Spain*, and t'adore no longer an ill manag'd Power, though it was Lawful; They had not held out long, if Neighbour Powers had not interessed themselves in their Contests, and if several Reliefs had not been drawn unto them from *Germany*, *France*, and *England*. I add to what hath been above-said, That, when in the time of our Fathers, Heresie and Ambition united against Soveraign Power, and that from these Two Springs of Rebellion, a Party did arise, which left to our Kings but a part of their Authority, and to this Kingdom but a part of their Forces; Though this Party was animated by them of the Blood of our Kings, and guided by one of th' ablest Commanders of his time; Though it had all th'Allurements that Novelty gives t'Error, and all the Zeal

Prince of *Condé* and *Chastillon* Admiral of *France*.

Book II. Zeal which accompanies the Confederates of growing Sects. Though th'Union amongst the Members could not be greater, nor th'Accord of their Wills more Universal; 'Tis nevertheless certain, That with such Advantages, and such favourable Encounters, they had not maintained themselves, as they did, nor had made so deep foundations in the State, nor stretched so far its Branches, if Forein Forces had not supported them, and if it had not been often relieved by *English* Gold, and *German* Forces. For the Decay and Ruine of that Party was dated effectively from the drineſs of the Springs, which had furnished it with powerful Contributions, and that the Veins which had brought it Blood and Life, were obstructed, and no longer open; When *Germany* fell into an Inability, and *England* became Fearful or Weak, and *Spain* Slow or Irresolute to relieve it. Thence it ariseth, That the People who study Changes, and dispose themselves for bold and violent Resolutions, never undertake them but upon some Forein Inspiration, accompanied with promises of great Reliefs, or in such a Conjuncture of Time and Affairs, as makes out unto them some Haven which may put them in safety, and secure them in time of Tempest. But to speak of present things, and of the Rising of the *Catalans*, There's no question, but that th' had never undertaken it, what pretence soever they had, which is not here to be examined, but by favour of their present Conjuncture; And though it was contrived long before, and the whole matter prepared, whereof it was then formed, yet it had not issued from the Womb of its Causes, nor taken Light, if th'Arms of *France* had not been Triumphant in all places; If those of *Spain* had not been unfortunate in *Flanders*, and in *Italy*, and if the Reputation of th' Imperialists had not been abated in *Germany*. In the third place, I say, That in the Matter of the People's Emotions, nothing of certainty can be promised, nor of Knowledge of the Duration, till they have treated with the Prince from whom they Implored Aid, and have given him Pledges of their Faith to content; And that there's no greater or surer Pledge, than in giving up themselves; Till then, he may have cause to doubt, that the shew he shall make to protect them, will serve onely to raise Jealousie in the Prince, whose Subjects they are, and provoke him the more to Turn all manner of Wheels, and Employ all possible Inventions, to reduce them to their Duty, and to dissolve th'Union that is not well assured; Till then, I say, he will have just cause to distrust an Accommodation with their Prince; And lest, shaken betwixt th' Apprehensions of the Troubles and Miseries that attend the Victory, if it should remain to their Prince, and th'offers not onely of Impunity, but also of Recompence, wherewith h'endeavours to blind them, They take th' occasion to return to his favour; It being the nature of the People to change readily their passion; As to return willingly to a more peaceable condition, and to a gentler state than theirs may appear to them in their Revolt. That being so, there would not be less fear of

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Evil in their Accommodation, than hopes of Good in their Disorder; Their Repentance might prove as fatal to him, as their Sin favourable, and they would b' obliged to purge at his Charges the fault they had committed, for the not finishing of it, and to turn against him the Forces they had prepared against their Prince. Book II.

That if they resolve, not t'undertake by Halfs, what otherwise they ought not t'have Begun; If they resist th'Offers and the Threatnings of their first Prince, and take them, as it may be they are, for the Snares he lays, and for th'Ambushes he sets for them; If they perswade themselves, That he will not believe himself bound to keep that to them, which he had promised with an Ill-will, and they had Forced from him; nor t'observe the Faith h'had given them, since that, he may say, he would not break it, but for their good, and t'hinder them another time to become Rebells: But if they persevere in the desire of shaking off the Yoke, wherewith they may believe themselves in time oppressed, and t'implore th'Aid and Protection of another Prince, There are some Considerations to be had before He consents to their Relief.

At first sight, It seems to be a thing of an ill savour, and of a dangerous Example amongst Princes, That a Prince should oblige himself by Treaty to defend and protect another Princes Subjects in Rebellion; That 'tis to wound a Right wherein all Sovereigns are interessed in the Consequence, and give Heart to Rebellion to b' in all places more busie and bold than it would be, if it did believe it self destitute of Forein Aid, and of Auxiliary Forces. 'Tis not truly to be denied, but that generally taken, 'tis so; And it happens not often, that Princes declare themselves publickly in favour of the Subjects of other Princes, nor that they relieve them openly and with flying Colours; When they do it, 'tis ordinarily done without noise, and as it were in private; 'Tis like hiding th'Arm after the Stone is thrown; 'Tis either in furnishing of Money secretly, as *Philip* the Second did to the Chiefs of the League during the life of *Henry* the Third; or in Licensing of Troops, and permitting them to pass to the Rebel Party, as the *Venetians* did in the War of the Barons of *Naples* against th'old *Ferdinand* and the Duke of *Calabria* his son, as it hath been observed in another place.

In this, a Distinction is to b' used, which will clear this Doubt, and reconcile what may seem to b'opposite and contrary; 'Tis, that neither the Law of Conscience, nor that of Civil Prudence doth permit, That in time of Peace and Calmness, and at least, when there's no cause of Revenge, or to divert a Storm that threatens, that Troubles should be stirred up in the Neighbouring States, nor that Subjects b' invited to take up Arms against their Prince; But when War is kindled betwixt two Princes, and that they burn with a Reciprocal heat to do their worst, and to destroy one another, The Difficulty is abated, and there's more reason to ask, Whether one of the Princes may with a good Conscience cherish the Rebellion of another

Princes

Book II. Princes Subjects? Or to repeat the same things in various Forms, or to rehabit the same Idæa and the same sense with different Expressions, Whether a Prince with a good Conscience may Joyn his Forces with Rebel-Forces, and Act joyntly, and by way of Conservation with them against an Enemy whom he may with a good Conscience fight without their aid? Or if it be permited him to diminish the number of his Enemies, in giving Heat to persons, who will be of Necessity Against him, if they are not For him, and will become His Enemies if He holds them not in good humour and Power to remain His Friends? or else, if that be less allowed him, than to receive Officers and Soldiers from the contrary Party which come to Joyn with his Army; Than to make use against his Enemies of Horses, of Canon, and of other Instruments of War, He shall gain from them? And in general, Whether H' have the same right t'use th'Enemies Arms which Fortune presents unto him, and causeth to fall int' his hands without Labour, As those which he gains with his Arms, which by force He makes His, and are of Lawful Conquest, and fruits of a Just War.

But 'tis certain, That these things move upon the same foot, and with equal force; And that if th'one are permitted, whereof there's no Question, There's no difficulty nor scruple for th'others. At the worst, there's no doubt, but that his proceeding is gentler and less odious, than to corrupt the fidelity of the Governour of a place, which is every day practised by the most Religious Princes, who make no conscience t'endeavour the taking of that by Good-will, which they believe is permitted unto them to take by force; And to buy with a little Mony that, which would cost the Blood and Lives of a great Number of their Subjects. In this, a very notable difference may be seen, for in the first Case, whereof there hath been discourse, Princes are sollicited, Protection demanded, their Aid implored against Violence and Tyranny; They give onely Aliment to what hath already Life, and make profit of th'Evil, if there be any, which others have committed, and make use of the Benefit which Fortune offers them. But in the second Case, they seek, they draw, they debosh, they do in some sort give birth t'Infidelity and Treason; And nevertheless they believe, that 'tis permitted them in good Conscience, and they practise it without scruple, and with glory. 'Tis true, that the Justice which Soveraigns exercise against Soveraigns hath a long extent, and its bounds are enlarged beyond the distributions made to Particular Persons; That the Right of War, which is a Right of Force and Subtilty, is maintained by strange Means, and with Addresses forbidden to the Right of Private Persons, and that the safety of the People is in the Souls of Princes, a Law predominant t'all other Laws, and th'obligation they have to procure it, is superior to th'other Obligations of their Charge. From hence it may appear, That the King in receiving the *Catalans*, who did cast themselves int' his Arms, hath not committed so great a Crime,

Crime, as ignorant, and Passionate persons for *Spain* have published it; That therein he hath done nothing, that was of ill Example, but what he might Lawfully have done, which the Law of Conscience hath appointed, and that of Prudence advised. And since that in the midst of Peace, which the *Spaniards* had with us, They made no difficulty openly to favour, and in the sight of all the world, the Rebels of *France*; And that before any breach, they treated with the Duke of *Rohan*, whilst he was Head of a Party; And made use of the discontentment of one of our Prices, and sent with him into this Kingdom some Troops of casual *Polaques*, who live onely of Prey, and whose Valour consists not in the Taking of Places, that Resist, but in Burning them, which cannot Defend themselves; nor in gaining of Battels, but in Killing after the Victory. Since that the Right of Revenge belongs to Princes, and that 'tis Lawful for them to render, what hath been lent them; I do not think, that in the Terms we were with the *Spaniards*, and in th' Heat of the War had with them, the King ought to make difficulty of granting to the *Catalans* the Protection they desired of him, or to receive them, who gave themselves up voluntarily, since it was lawful for him to take them by force, and t'have made himself Master of them by His Armies. Book II.

Sixth Discourse.

Wherein the Protection ought to Terminate which Princes give to the Rebel-Subjects of another Prince; That it b' effected faithfully by the Prince, and securely by the Rebels; This is Confirmed by the Proceeding the King hath observed in the business of Catalognia.

IN the precedent Discourse, we have cleared the Doubt that concerns Conscience upon the matter of Relief, which Princes give to the Rebel-Subjects of other Princes. We must now treat of an Inevitable Inconveniency in this Matter, and of a more difficult Resolution, To wit, wherein this Protection shall Terminate, and what the Prince who gives it shall do 'n their favour, in case Peace be made; How at last it must be made, that Rest may succeed Trouble, and a Calm t' a Tempest: For Rebel-Subjects must return to their Natural Princes grace by means of a Treaty, and be reconciled unt'him by the Mediation of th'other Prince their Protector, or must be freed from his Domination, and make a State apart, and a separated Body, As the *Suisses* have done, and as th'*Hollanders* do; or that they hold of him, wh' hath delivered them from servitude, and as the second Master, whom they make choice of to get out of th'others Yoke; or that they b'abandoned and left, as a Prey, to the Displeasure and Anger of their Prince.

Book II. As to the First Point, (the same Judgment may be made, and in stronger Terms of the Second and Third) It must be a very difficult thing for a Soverain to digest, That another should take that Advantage over him, as to be the Mediator and Arbiter betwixt him and his Subjects, and Fortune must put him int'a low Station, and offer him a strange Violence, to make him accept of such hard Conditions, and such dishonorable Terms. In the Treaty of *Madrill*, and that of *Cambray*, which was, to speak properly, but the Corrective and Moderation of th other, some particular *French* Persons indeed, who followed the *Spanish* Party, were restored to their Honours and Goods by those Treaties. But who knows not in what Constitution *France* was at that time? Who knows not that th'Heavens had none but malignant Aspects and froward Influences for it? And that Fortune pouring out her Favours upon *Spain*, had forgot she was Changeable. It hath been seen, what a hard Labour it was some years past t'obtain Pardon for the Marquis of *St. George*, and for some other *Montferrans*, who served the Duke of *Savoy* in the Wars He had since the death of the late King, with the Dukes of *Mantoua*. The difficulty the *Genoueſe* Expressed, and the Resistance they made against pardoning the Prisoners, hath been seen, whom th' Accused t' have Conspired against their Country with the Duke of *Savoy*, to give him Entry into *Genes*; And that at last in th' Accommodation the Republique made with the Duke, a Means was Invented, and a Temper found t'hinder these Criminals of the State to perish; And that it might not appear, that the Republique had given them grace. And in the Treaty of *Vervins*, the Deputies of the late King opposed vigorously the Comprehension of any *French-man*, that had taken part with the *Spaniard*, and to deny any favour to th'Intercession of Strangers, of what belonged to the Clemency of a Prince.

Moreover, it was not without a great grief of heart, and a great Repugnancy, that the *Spaniards* permitted th'Embassadors of *France*, *England*, and *Venice*, not onely to sign, as Moderators, but also as Sureties on their Masters behalf, the Treaty of *Verceil*, which determined the War raised from the not Execution of that of *Ast*; And nevertheless, the Question was not herein, of a difference betwixt Subject and Soveraign, and of those Quarrels of State, which are not Appeased, but by the Submission or Punishment of th'One, and by th' Indulgency or Justice of th'Other. The Question was onely of a Punctilio of Honour, and of a Preheminence of Authority, which the *Spaniards* affected, to Treat in all *Italy* as Masters; T'impose Laws on Princes; To give Form, as it shall seem good to them, t'Affairs, and to put out the Fires, which they permitted to kindle by the sole signification of their pleasure, and by the single demonstration of their Arms. It angred much those ambitious Persons, That a Duke of *Savoy* had the boldness t' oppose that publick Necessity, and to resist the common Destiny of the petty Princes of *Italy*.

Italy. They could not endure his Thoughts of a Free Prince, nor Book II.
that he should use the Privileges of Soveraignty, and Act th' Independent near them. It was the cause of the Troubles they raised upon him, and renewed two or three Times. This obliged *France* not to permit him t' yield under so just a Cause; This made *France* with *England*, and the Republick of *Venice*, t' undertake the Warrantry of what was Accorded to the Duke by the *Spaniards*; and this was the cause of bitterness and grief to them, to be constrained, for th' Avoiding of worse, and to draw upon them, with the War, Strangers int' *Italy*; following the Maxim they then held, and which they ought never t' abandon; To be compelled, I say, after th' Offer of all imaginable Advantages to the Duke, and search of all possible Expedients, to divert the Mediation of the forementioned Ambassadors, to consent, That they should become Pledges of th' Observation of the Treaty. That if we 've seen happen somewhat like it between the King and his Rebel-Subjects; And if *England* mingled with their Affairs, and Interposed in the Treaty which was given them before *Montpellier*; 'Tis to be considered, that 'twas permitted by that hard and Inexorable Law, which makes the Lesser Evil to b' Accepted t' avoid the Greater; and that in respect of the Weariness which oppressed *France*, It was adjudged to be more Expedient to procure its Rest with a Little shame, than to Leave it in the Trouble of War, with an Extreme peril; Or truly it must b' avowed, That there was not Vigour and Courage enough in the Councel, or Care enough of the King's Honor, and of the Dignity of the Crown; and that the veins of them, who Governed in that Time, were not filled with those Generous Spirits, and that Magnanimous Blood whereof so great Effects are seen in the present Administration. And to speak the Truth, these forced Peaces, and these violent Reconciliations are not of Long Duration; They must quickly break, from what side soever the fault comes; And the Subjects proud and fierce upon this Forein Protection, cannot contain themselves within their Bounds, which are marked out unto them, or the Prince cannot permit his Subjects t' have relation t' any other Soveraignty than his, whereby shadow only of Authority remains t' him, and from which he receives onely an Apparence of Affection, whilst they give th' Heart and Reality t' another Prince.

What followed the Peace of *Montpellier* hath given us occasion to verifie this Truth, and shew, that it being made of necessity, or for fear, and Forced rather than freely Accorded; That th' Intervention and Warrant of th' *English* was of use to give the greater Jealousie to the King against them, wh' had made Addresses t' *England*, to give him a greater curiosity in th' observance of their Deportments, and a greater Inclination t' interpret them with a spirit of distrust; That they served onely to make them the more Tender and Sensible

Book II. of the least scratch, they Imagin'd to be given to the Peace; to make them the more bold in demanding of Reparation, and to demand it with Threatnings; T' Encourage them to proceed rather as Equals than Subjects in all these Troubles; From what cause it proceeded this is not the time t' enquire after, and that I've design'd it for another place. At last, all things conspired t' an open breach, as hath been observed, and from all those Collective Causes, was formed the most dangerous War that threatned the State, since the birth of Heresie. Nevertheless, God Converted into Good those sad Apparences, and hindred th' Evil t' Accomplish its period; He stopt it in the strength of its Motion, and in the midst of its Course; And raised to the King Ministers of State, who would not strip him of his Virtue by their Coldness, but give him an Edge by their Courage; not to go awry at the sight of the Disorders, and to cut off some Branches; but t' Assault it in a strait Line, and to cut it up by the Roots; Not t' Allay for some time the Rebellion with Promises, which they knew would not be kept, and may be believed ought not to be kept; but to put it in a Condition to Capitulate no more with his Master, and to take from it for the future, the Will to rise, in taking from it the Power of Rising. And that fell out happily, for th' *English* were beaten, and th' *Hugonots* humbled in that War; *Rochel* fell to the ground, and *Spain* became Blind or Lazie in not furnishing the Relief it had promised to the Dying party.

Somewhat like to this last Circumstance hath been seen in the Peace which the late Emperor made a little before at *Lubec* with the King of *Denmark*. The Princes whose Protection h' had undertaken were admitted only under the General Clause, which was a Mark of Dereliction, *That th' Emperor should not disturb any Person against Justice and Equity: That during such time the King of* Denmark *should not Engage in th' Affairs of th' Empire, And that he should no more Interpose in th' Affairs of* Germany, *than th' Emperor in th' Affairs of his Kingdom.* It must nevertheless be confessed, to speak Truth of that Occurrence, That th' Advantages th' Emperor drew from that Treaty, were not the Just price of the Successes H' had obtain'd in that War; And that the Collection of the Fruits Answered not the Promises which did precede it. In the King of *Denmarks* Condition, His Declining the Protection of his Allies was no more, than to Part with that which was not in his power to Maintain, and to Quit that he could no longer hold, and to Renounce that which produced no real Thing to th' Emperor, and was but an unprofitable mark of Superiority, which Victory had made very visible. He did receive solid Benefits, redeemed all his Losses, and allayed the Tempest that was ready to break upon the Rest of his States. But th' Ambition of the *Spaniards*, and the pressure th' used to th' Emperor to send his Armies into *Italy*, against a Catholick Prince, wh' had done him no hurt, compelled him to make Peace, as hath else-where been observed, with

In the Month of *June*, 1629.

with a Protestant Prince that had offended him; To cool his good Book II.
Fortune in its greatest heat, and to restrain the Current of the Victory, which might have passed the Bounds of the *Baltique* Sea; And t' have stopped that fatal Power which hath since Over-run th' Empire, and shaken the very Foundations of th' House of *Austria*. However, 'tis a proof of great Superiority in Power, or of a great height in Success, t' Exclude out of Treaties of Peace, or to Comprehend in them, whom they will. And Interests of State must be very Violent, which oblige Princes to forget their Friends in their Accommodations, whose Faithfulness they've made Trial of in the Quarrel. In such a Dereliction, they cannot save their Honour, but by th' Extreme Necessity of their Affairs, nor be dispensed from th' observation of their Faith, but by that Supreme Law, which ought to regulate their Conduct in the safety of their Subjects. Whereupon they that would Excuse them, may say; That 'tis a Condition which Enters privately int' all their Alliances, and a Reserve which needs not be Comprised, because it cannot b' Excluded, and which Equally concerns th' Interest of all the Confederates; And there's none but makes use of it in case of Necessity, or that believes himself obliged to perish, if he cannot be secure in Company; There's none that believes himself forsworn, when h' holds not that, which he believes never t' have promised. And though in the Treaties of Confederations all do promise, not to make Agreement without the Knowledge and Consent of one another; All understand it, nevertheless, with that Exception, But in the case of an Extreme ill Fortune, which allows n' other Security; or from an utter Ruine, that admits of no Safety, but by such a Breach; That if this were not so, it were t' act against th' End of Confederates, wherein many d' Engage and Unite themselves, to resist together an Evil, which would be Superiour to the Forces of each particular person; but none of them would shut up himself, if it were not Lawful for him to go out, when he shall not find safety there, and should be Lost in a Longer stay; That they're like Ships, where they that guide them, oblige themselves to work all they Can to defend them against a Storm, but where every person reserves t' himself the Liberty to provide for his safety in forsaking of them, when they're ready to strike ground, and that the Wrack is Inevitable. That Countries are in th' hands of Princes, as the goods of Minors; They're the Guardians, but not in all Senses the Masters of them; And in the whole humane Society there's no Depositе so Sacred and so Inviolable as that is to them. The people from whom they hold it, have committed it unto them indeed, but have not absolutely given it unto them, and without a Condition. They've indeed given them the Tuition, but have not given them the Power of Alienation, or to put them in Danger of Perishing, and of changing Master.

To what hath been already said, may also b' added, That 'tis better

that

Book II.

that one of the Confederates giving way to Time, and striking Sail before Fortune, make his Peace alone, the better t' Endeavour th' Improvement of th' others Conditions, and to serve them for Relief, than that they should Lose themselves by the pretence of a false Courage, and by a Delicacy of humour, which may indeed be permitted in the Conduct of Particular persons, but ought never to b' admitted into that of Princes, nor find place in their Affairs. That, besides this, there's no doubt, but that 'tis a most base dishonour for them to fail in th' observation of promises; And that no Greatness can be gained, or Establishment made, that can repair the breaches of violated Faith, and purge the shame of Perjury.

These are Considerations, which have entred into my Understanding, to discharge as much as may be, the proceedings which Princes sometimes are Constrained t' use in the matter of Treaties. I do not pretend, nevertheless, to warrant my thoughts from Infallibility, or to make them pass for Decisions and Dogmatiques. I leave t' every person the Liberty of Judgment, according t' his Sense to Condemn or Approve them, as it shall seem good t' him, and to take them for sound Reasons, and for Addresses of good Direction; or onely for Colours, which paint, or for Ways that occasion Wandrings. However, great care must be taken not t' Exercise and Practise so tickliſh a Conduct every day; And no other use is to be made of them, than as of Poisons in Medicines, That's to say, sparingly, and against Extreme Evils, and with Excellent Correctives, and Exquisite Preparations. I add also, that in th' Example, which I have alleged of *Denmark*, I do not understand Fundamentally to condemn the Conduct of that Prince, nor to Constitute my self Judge Soveraign of a thing whereof I do not know all th' occult Reasons by which that Nation might have cause to get out, which ought to be presumed to be Just, nor all th' hidden Wheels that gave it Motion, which might have rendred it necessary; I've onely drawn th' Exterior, and what hath appeared without, and hath not a plausible shew, which I've endeavoured to Temper & Sweeten by my Lenitive Considerations. Not touching then upon what may b' of Truth in the Foundation of such proceedings, what appeared without, seems to b' an Argument of Infidelity or Weakness, and both of those Qualities are Precipices, wherein a Prince will never fall if he be Virtuous, and will seldom fall into th' other, if he b' of good foresight, and knows well how to take his Measures. From whence I conclude, That the last may not happen, And that the Prince who protects, be not compelled to give the World so shameful an Evidence of his Weakness, That either h' ought at first Instance to Reject the propositals of the people, who Implore his Protection, and shut the Door t' all Importunities; or if he receive them, t' Act Vigorously with so Considerable Forces, that apparently Nothing ought to deprive him of the Victory; nor hinder by consequence the Peace to be made upon his own Tearms, and Secure

cure the People, whose defence h'had undertaken, and with whose safety h'had charged himself. A worthier Example to follow cannot be presented, nor a more excellent Model for Imitation in like Occurrences, than the Conduct the King observed in the Business of *Catalognia*. So soon as it appeared, and that so great an Occasion t'advance our affairs shewed it self, He wisely judged, That there was no reason to permit it t'escape; That there was no Cause for Resisting the good Fortune, which came to seek us without a Call, nor to refuse a Favour, which th'Heavens offered us so freely. And as 'tis seen sometimes in difficult Maladies, that Nature makes some Demonstration, which declares to the Physicians the way th' ought to take to cure the sick Persons, and discovers to them the place by which the disease is to b'assaulted; The King also very well understood, That by this unlook'd for Accident, and by this unhop'd for Chance, of the rising of the *Catelans*, God marked out unt'us one of the ways w'ought to take, t'arrive at th'Haven we went to Sea for, and t'attain that End for which w'undertook the War; A sure and honest Peace, a firm and lasting Rest to Christian Princes. Book II.

He understood, That if h'had reason t'undertake the War in that Country, when all *Spain* opposed it, and that all the People joyned with the Prince to ruine our Designs, and to make our Arms fruitless; The same Causes and Reasons being on foot, The best Peopled, and the most Warlick Province of that Nation being sever'd from th'other Provinces, and Joyned with our Forces; There was no probability, but that we might promise to our selves a good success of that business; H' ought indeed so to believe it, and believe also, That if that affair was happily Embarqu'd, and that the favour of Heaven did not abandon the progress of it, That the prosperity would not be confined to the Frontiers of *Catalognia*, That its good Influence might extend its self further; And as a Needle rubbed with the Loadstone hath the virtue to draw others, That the subsistence of the *Catalans* might be th'Attractive to draw th'other discontented Provinces after it. He knew that the *Portugueſe* were full of good will to rise, since the time of their submission to the Crown of *Spain*; That they could not bear any Yoke with more Impatience; That they always breathed after their antient form of Government, and that th'hatred they had for the *Castillians* was so natural and strong, that no length of Time, nor moderation of Conduct, could efface th'Impression, and allay the Violence. He judg'd, that th'*Arragons*, wh' have not yet lost the Remembrance of *Philip* the Second's usage, wh' are outragious with spite for the breach of their Privileges, and loss of their Liberty; Who know that of Right it belongs t' Us, would observe what the first Successes of their Neighbours Arms would be; What form of their Establishment, and what the signes and presages of their future duration, to Joyn themselves, it may be with us, if they might do 't with safety, and if they saw in that Union Resistance and Force enough against th' Enterprises of their

common

Book II. common Enemy. H' alſo judged, That if that War could be drawn out into length, and that the firſt Effort of the Troops the *Spaniſh* King ſhould draw together to reduce or confound the *Catalans*, before they were in a condition to Reſiſt him, failed of its effect; It was of Neceſſity for him to recall from the *Low-countries*, or from *Italy*, ſome part of his Forces t'oppoſe them which were drawn out againſt him in the midſt of his Country, and as in the Centre of his Monarchy. And by Conſequent, that his other States remaining naked and weak, they would b'expoſed to very dangerous ſtrokes, and to very great wounds; And that many other good Effects and happy Encounters might derive themſelves from that Cauſe and Spring. And therefore the Kings proceeding upon th'Occurrence of *Catalognia*, could not be more Judicious, nor the motion of his Arms better adjuſted to the Laws of Civil Prudence.

Seventh Diſcourſe.

That 'tis a great Secret in War, to know how to make beſt Choice of the Place againſt which the ſtrongeſt Aſſaults are to be made. That the Spaniards *are ſeldom deceived in that Choice: With ſome other Obſervations upon their Conduct. That the King's Conduct is Admirable, in ordering the War he makes in ſo many places in* Chriſtendome.

WHat I have ſaid of the King's Proceedings upon the Inſurrections of *Catalognia*, carries me t'another Conſideration, which is not of ſmall weight for the managing of a War made in ſeveral places, and divides it ſelf into many Branches at diſtance with one another; 'Tis, that in this Action, the ſupreme degree of Military Wiſdom, and as it were the precious Elixar to render any War happy, Is, t'Endeavour induſtriouſly to know the place, which ought to be the principal Siege, and to turn on that ſide the chief of their Forces; As to b'always ready to change Conduct, as cauſe ſhall be given, and the War to take another Conduct, and another Form in order to that End. Th' Houſe of *Auſtria* hath always underſtood and practiſed this ſecret t' Admiration; And if the late Emperor forſook it, when he made War to the Duke of *Mantoua*, and neglected that of *Germany*, t' apply himſelf powerfully to the War of *Italy*; 'Tis that he was forced thereunto, as hath been often obſerved, by th'Ambition of the *Spaniards*, who preferring their Intereſt t' his, obliged him to draw his Forces where they might b' of moſt uſe for them, and to labour their Greatneſs in *Italy*, which then concerned them more than the Greatneſs of th'Emperor in *Germany*.

The cauſe why the *Spaniards* poſſeſs this ſecret in perfection, and are ſeldom deceived in the Knowledge and Choice of what is moſt important

important in their Affairs; Is th'order of their Government, and that variety of particular Councels, whereof it is compoſed, as their various Countries or their Domination is diſtributed, and where their Arms are exerciſed. For Example, as to what reſpects *Italy*; There's an eſtabliſh'd Councel in *Italy*, which is formed of the Correſpondencies and Relations obſerved amongſt the Miniſters of State whom they there entertain; And eſpecially betwixt the Governor of *Milan*, and the Vice-King of *Naples*, and their Ambaſſador at *Venice*. In th' occaſions then which happen in that Country, the firſt Declarations are made by theſe four Heads, which conſtitute, as it were, the firſt Tribunal, where the Difficulties are agitated, and Reſolutions taken of what is moſt expedient to do in the preſent occaſion. The Reſult of th' Adviſes of that firſt Councel, with a faithful Relation of the Facts whereon they were formed, and the Reaſons whereon they were grounded, is ſent into *Spain* t'another Councel framed of Intelligent Perſons in th' affairs of *Italy*, and who, having paſt the great Employments of that Country, have alſo the greater Lights and exacter Motions. There the ſecond Examination of the Buſineſs is made, and th'advices and Reaſons of the firſt Councels are put again to the Trial and Re-examination. Book II.

And, as in th'Oeconomy of th'Human Body, the Spirits which are formed in the Liver, paſs to th'Heart to be purifi'd, and there to diſcharge themſelves of the groſſer part, and from thence ariſe to the Brain, where they receive th' ultimate degree of ſubtilty and light, whereof they are capable, and ſuch a temper as renders them the neareſt Organs of the Motion of the Body, and of th'Operation of the Senſes; In like manner, the Reſolutions of this ſecond Councel are carried to a Third, which is the Councel of State of the Prince, to receive there a Third Examination, and to ſee, if they may find a place in th order of his affairs; And if that which is conformable to the good of th'affairs of *Italy*, whereunto the two firſt Councels have onely their Aſpect, be not contrary to the general good of their Monarchy. They Act not onely in this Order, and with ſo great a Refinement of Prudence in their own Affairs, and which immediately concern them, but they bring alſo the ſame Cares, and the ſame conteſt of Spirit, t' Examine th' Affairs of th' Houſe of *Auſtria* in *Germany*, and to direct the Form and Motion that ought to guide them; Nevertheleſs, with this difference, That although they addreſs, as to their Centre, the Particulars which they have collected, as to the general Good of their Houſe; They ſo order it, That the general Good remains always inferiour and ſubaltern to the particular Intereſts of their Houſe, and to the great Deſign they've had to greaten it without Meaſure, and to raiſe it to th' Univerſal Chriſtian Monarchy. I've already brought ſome Examples for the proof of this Truth, and I could bring others above number to confirm it, if there were need, and if it were not ſo evident and known, that it would ſeem to give light to the Sun, and to

Book II. make his Light visible; So that you must not b' Amazed, if the Councel of *Vienna* is but th'Instrument of the Resolutions, whereof the Councel of *Madril* is th'Author; And if you see nothing come from that, which bears not the mark of th'other, and receiv'd th'Impressions of their Maxims and Conduct.

And since the knowledge of facts, and of the true state of things, is the Basis of Reasonings, and that these have no subsistence, if th'others b'ill grounded; And resemble the Colours of the Bowe in Heaven, that are false, though they are full of brightness and comelyness, for want of a Body, wherein they might b' infused and fastned; They provide against this Inconveniency two ways; Th'one is, by an unlimited Power they give to their Agents to distribute Moneys, and not to consider any sort of Expence to be well informed of what passeth; As to penetrate what is deliberated and resolved at the Results of their Enemies and Friends; And that Expence is fully allowed them without Examination or Restriction, and upon the single Account which they present. Their Reason is, that although this be Matter for Deceit and for Avarice to make unjust Harvests; They'd rather run th'hazard, as Inconsiderable, for the good which may arise to them, as very great; And they believe, That an Expence well imploy'd in that behalf, and a good advice given to purpose, make them Recompence with Interest for a hundred lost Expences, and for a hundred unprofitable Advices. Th' other way is, That no People of the world were ever more careful t'entertain their Correspondencies, or a greater Number of them; They do not affect onely specious ones, and with illustrious Persons; but they also form Correspondencies with all them that will b'obliged with them; And Experience hath taught them, that a Person of a Low Condition, and of little sense, may discover to them sometimes an important Truth, which might have past by the Cares and Subtilty of great Personages. So that 'tis a wonderful thing, and I've been sometimes astonish'd at it, to see the great Number of Persons, who make Copies in the Chanceries of their Ministers of State, and the great quantity of Letters, which their Ambassadors by every ordinary Messenger write by way of Original; And 'tis incredible to believe their diligence t'inform the Prince, and his other Ministers of State, of War or Peace, of what is necessary for them to know; As well the Bad as the good News is speedily sent away unto them, and above all th'ill news, as that, which is of Importance to be timely known, and without disguise, to remedy in time, and with necessary Provisions, th' Evil which they declare or presage; And that the Posts that bring them are as largely paid, and as civilly used, as they who bring the good tidings. After then that they've understood the present state of their Affairs, and observed the place where it imports them most t'Act, They turn on that side, as hath been said, the chief of their Forces, t' Act the more safely, and to break and overcome by an excess of Power all that may oppose it,

and

and give Resistance; They resolve to permit small Losses, and light Disadvantages in one place, t'obtain great Successes in another; and they well know, that the Branches cannot remain safe, when the Body of the Tree is cut down, and that after the wounding of the Nobler parts, th'others Die of themselves. 'Tis by this Principle, that we've sometimes seen our Frontiers covered with fearfull Clowds of their Men of War, which have been nevertheless dispersed, and that the Lower *Germany* hath seen formed against it great and formidable Bodies of Imperial Armies, which have also been defeated. Book II.

Since w' are in the way to speak of the Conduct, which the Princes of th' House of *Austria* have accustomed particularly t' observe in the War, it may not be amiss to remark also here, That when they resolve upon any great Design, and that they prepare for some High Enterprize, Th' act it with the most Privacy, and with the least possible Noise; Th' use their greatest care, that it take no Air, as if they wrought in a Mine; They make shew of Rest and Sleep, when they Labour most, and are most Awake; They're not angry when they're accused of Impuissancy, and they scatter of themselves Colourable Reasons, and furnish Specious Colours to make that Accusation probable. 'Tis not hard to divine th'End of that Artifice, which is to lay asleep and to surprize: And History and Experience do sufficiently instruct us, what incredible Advantages they do sometimes draw thereby to themselves, and what great and prodigious stroaks they make by the force of that Artifice, and by the favour of that Silence. Th'ill success of the Battel of St. *Quintin* had its beginning in those secret and hidden Preparations, which *Philip* the Second made of the great Forces wherewith he did enter *Picardy*; And in that fatal Credulity that possessed us of his Weakness, and of the small Means h'had t' Arm powerfully, till we learned it at our Charges, and were beaten with the Thunder, before w' had any sight of the Lightning: W'have not lost the memory of a thing so fresh and sensible as the surprize, which had almost oppressed *Banier* in th'High *Palatinate*, and the Storm that broke s' unexpectedly upon him, that it failed but little, but that the whole Power of the *Swedes* in *Germany* had with that stroke been overthrown with the *German* Liberty.

I add also, that when th'Heavens second their Providence, and becomes propitious to their Designs, there's not a People in the world, to speak ordinarily, wh' understand better to make good use of her favours, and to serve themselves of their Advantages; Whereas others do become remiss by their good Success, and Prosperity seems t'abate and dissolve their Vigour, and do stop to take breath in the best of their way, and letting pass good fortune before them, without the Courage of pursuing it, They lose the sight of it. But the *Spaniards* never Labour more than after a good Success, and are never hotter to Fight, than after the gaining of a Battel,

Book II. nor more desirous to return to the Carier than after the Victory: They know how to pursue a Victory to the last, and they lose not a happy Sequel that it may produce; nor a Fruit that may rationally be gathered from it; That of *Norlinghen*, to go no higher, is an evident proof; and if *France* had not interposed to stop the Current, and restrain the Rapidity, th' had had nothing more to do in *Germany* than t'have taken possession of what would have rendred, or to march and present themselves t'overcome in all places.

So that if the wonderful power of th' House of *Austria* be considered, which maintains it self, and stands up after it hath received so many shakings; after the loss of so many Battels; after th' Insurrection of Provinces and Kingdoms; And on th'other side, if their constant and politique Order, and the Virtues practised in the Cabinet Council, and exercised in the Field, be well observed, It must be confessed, that t'hinder the compleating of their Designs, it was necessary, that th'Heavens did undertake particularly to cross them, and to raise Forces t'oppose them, equal or superiour to theirs; A Policy at the least as Wise, and incomparably more Just, and Virtues as strong and active, but more true and effective. Wherefore th'obligation, which the whole Christian Common-wealth hath to the King, cannot be sufficiently comprehended; And whatsoever th' Acknowledgment be, it cannot be proportionable t' his aid and him, for confirming its Liberty so violently shaken; for giving stop to th'Ambition of so powerful an Enemy; for having raised so great Forces upon that Occasion, which might have been reported too great, but that they were necessary. The Reader will not take it ill, that I have here made this rough draught of the Conduct of that House, and particularly of the Branch of *Spain*, which is as the Mobile and Soul of the Conduct of th' other. If it cannot entirely b'imitated by other Princes and States, for the Reasons not here to b'expressed, It may be in part, and with some proportion. However, 'tis no small Matter t'have made it known, that a Defence may with Power and Knowledge be made against it.

Let's see now, if in these last Times *France* hath well understood the publick Mystery, whereof it hath been spoken in the beginning of this Discourse, and if in th' execution of its Design, it hath observed th' Order as hath been said ought to be kept, and changed Conduct according to the change of Conjunctures. To be satisfi'd in this, it must be supposed, That th' Intention of the King having been onely t' oppose th'unjust and unmeasurable Greatness of th' House of *Austria*, and t'hinder th'Usurpations that it projected on all sides to make; The Law of Contraries required, That he repaired chiefly to the places, where it endeavour'd to make its principal Establishments, and to break the Design, where the strength of Industry ought to be, and the gross of the Work which it designed; And it cannot be doubted, that almost in all the course of that long and sad War, which devours *Christendom*, to the raising of the Siege at *Casall*,

Casall, and to the rising of the *Catalans*, which followed it, but the Book II.
places have been *Germany* and *Italy*. As to the first, 'tis certain, That 'tis a constant Resolution, and an Immortal Design in the Soul of those Princes, who take up th'Empire, as by Succession, to make also *Germany* their Patrimony. No person is ignorant what *Charls* the Fifth did, and what he did not, t'attain that End; And all the world knows also, and we do deduce it fully in the Treaty of Monarchy, How that Vast and Warlick Nation, whereof he did promise himself the Conquest, did escape him, and broke the Nets, wherewith he had entangled them. We have seen where it failed, That th' Emperour did not finish the Work h' had more than half done. But for the Peace of *Lubec*, whereof we have spoken, and the Degradation of *Wasthein* at the Dyet of *Ratisbon*, whereof we will speak in the Third Part, nothing visibly could have hindred him t'have given the last stroke; And it may be said of him, That after his Entry into the Port, he was beaten back to Sea, and reduced to the danger of drowning; We have seen th'hopes which Fortune made to flourish in the Soul of the King of *Hungary*, by a most desirable Conquest, and how far the Success was advanced, if *Torgau Banier* in his Retrait, had not disingaged himself, as by Miracle, from so many Armies as environ'd Him; And had, it may be, been destroyed, but for that wonderful and unheard of passage of the *Rhine*, made by *Sir* of *Longueville*, and but for the Relief and Courage which the Kings Arms commanded by that brave Prince, gave to them, who fought for the *German* Liberty, and to them who durst not have but good Intentions for the same Liberty. W' have formerly observed th' Extreme peril the *Swedish* Army, which had to that time been the Basis of the good Party of *Germany*, run in th'Higher *Palatinate*, and how near that Foundation was to b'overthrown, and th'Imperial Party t'have gained th'Ascendent, which might have been impossible for the *Swedes* t'have taken from them.

Moreover, as the flight from Evil is the first and the strongest Inclination of Nature, and as the Smarts of Pain and Image of Death stir the Soul Livelier, than th'Attractives of Pleasure, and th'Idæa of a Happy Life; so in th'Order of Passions which a Prince ought t'have for his Countreys, the love of Conservation ought always to precede the desire of Conquest; And before the thoughts of undertaking and making of any progress abrode, h'ought to provide for his safety within, and ought to submit to the publick Preservation at home, and cut off the Passages by which Disorder might Enter. And therefore since *Germany* onely can do us the most considerable mischief; since it is that Country which hath always sent th'Armies which have always over-run *France*, and that 'tis certain, That if th'Imperial Arms should be Victorious in *Germany*, they would not be confined to that Country, and that being augmented by th'Access of Confederate Forces, and with a number of other Forces, who would run thither by a Contest of Envy, They would discharge

Book II.

discharge themselves upon our Country; They might fall into *Italy*, and make there the same Spoils, and cause the same Desolation, as when they descended there under the command of *Colasto*; or at least, they might so fortifie the *Spaniards* there, and affright th' *Italians*, that it would have been a great trouble t'us t'hinder them to finish the Designs, which th' had much advanced in *Germany*, and to divert th' *Italians* from accepting the Chains of Servitude or Dependency which had been prepared for them of so many years.

Since, I say, that all this is possible, I conclude, that th' heat, which the King gave to th' Arms of the Late King of *Swede*, and which h' hath Continued to the Party he left in *Germany*; That th' endeavours h' used to raise it after it had been almost beaten down before *Northlinghen*; That the Supplies of Money and Men which he sent divers times into that Countrey; That the Treaties he made t' uphold th' Affairs, with the Late Duke of *Weimar* and the Troops he Commanded, and with that Generous Princess, whose Judgment and Constancy may serve for Example to the most Magnanimous Princes, and for shame to Cowards. I conclude, That whatsoever it hath Cost or may cost this Crown, That nothing was projected or done, but according to the Rules of good Policy, and particularly according to the Law of Prudence, which adviseth to make haste t'an Evill for the preventing of it, and not to stay till it hath made its Impression for the Repelling of it. I go on, and say further, That the King not only ought t' have sent into *Germany* Forces capable of Conjunction with the Confederates, to Counterpoise and hold in Check th' Imperialists, as th' have done to this time; But that in that posture the least favour of Fortune might remove them out of Check, and that in a just Counterpoise, Nothing would be Easier for him than to make the Ballance fall on th' others side. This King then cannot be too much Commended for the Resolution he took to send such powerfull Armes; That they put th' others Indubitably upon the defence; That they gave them Constantly the Law, and prepared a sure way for the *German* Liberty, and for the General Peace of the Christian Common-Wealth.

Madam the *Lantgrave* of *Hesse*.

As t' *Italy*, there's no Question to be made, but that it hath been a fixed and unchangable Design in the Spirit of the *Spaniards* to put th' *Italians* to the Yoak, and to Rob its Princes of all th' Estates they possessed there, or to reduce them to a Dependency which should not be much different from Subjection, but by the Vanity of Titles and by th' Exteriour of Forms. There's No need of Refreshing their Memory with th' Attempts of *Charls* the fifth, against the Liberty of this fair Countrey; The Violence he Committed and th' Ambushes he formed against it; That shall be represented at Length in the Treaty of Monarchy. There's no need also of Reporting all that the *Spaniards* undertook, since the Death of the late King; Sometimes against the Duke of *Savoy*; Sometimes against the *Venetians*, and against the *Valtoline*; Sometimes against the Duke of *Mantoua*; That's

to

to say all th'Attempts they've made, and all the Quarters they Endeavoured t'Assault, and to Weaken what remained there most Entire and Vigorous; It shall fully be seen in the Third part, in th'Apology of the Treaty of *Moncon*, and in that of th' Acquisition of *Pignerol*. 'Tis necessary only, that memory b' had of the pittifull Condition of that Countrey and of th'Auguries which appeared of its Approaching Ruine. That when the *Spaniards* had forced the Duke of *Parma*, Subdued the *Grisons*, Usurped *Zabionette* and *Miranda*, Invaded almost all *Piedmont*, and all the *Montferrat*, and besieged *Casall*, All th' hopes of its safety were reduced to th' Heroick Courage of a Prince, who would perish, or save that place, and to the good success of the King's Arms, which are not subject to th'Order of things, and sometimes makes that facile which appears impossible. Book II.

I speak not of our Expeditions in *Flanders*, where it seems the King for some years hath imploy'd the principal part of his Arms. It belongs not to me t'undertake the Revealing of that Mystery, and t'hoise the sail of a thing, which the Prudence of Governours would have secret. There are in the Matters of State places, as dangerous for particular persons to talk of, as Banks and Sands are to them who sail; And as to them, the Motives of the Conduct of wise Princes in many things, ought resemble to the Roots of Trees, which are covered and invisible, whilst the Body and Branches are visible; or to the Virtues of th' Heavens, whereof the Nature is not known, though th'Effects are felt, and the Power admired; So, no Question is to be made, but the King had great Reasons t'apply his Arms, as h' hath done, to the War of the *Low-Countries*, though they be not known t'all the World, and that the prospects had on that side were Just, though they pass the Reach of our sight.

Besides, what appeared and falls under the sense of every person, which was to deliver our Frontiers from the Jealousie they received from some of th'Enemies places, and chiefly to secure and re-inforce *Paris* the more, which is as th'Heart and Noblest part of *France*; He was also, it may be, engaged there by other Interests, which are not altogether his, and t'adjust himself to the Interests of some of his Neighbours, by that prudent Maxim of Policy, which holds forth, That great Persons ought sometimes to take the Law from their Inferiours, and follow their Motions when they have use of them; And that a Disagreement would endanger th'Enterprize, If any of the Wheels, to which it ought to give Motion, came to fail and to be loose from the others. It may be, that in the Subjects of great and profound Designs, which the King had upon that Country, he foresaw, that if they were all as happy, as they were wisely projected, some Resolution might happen, that would for ever deliver his Kingdom from Alarms, and from Incursions, which are made sometimes from that Neighbourhood. And truly, if th' Assault of *Calo*, and the Siege of *St. Omer* had prospered, as in apparance they ought

Book II. ought t'have done, or if an unexpected stroke, which made a Noise upon the Frontiers of *Campagnia*, had not diverted the favourable progress, which promised the taking of *Ayres*, Th' Effects of that Princes prevoyance, it may be, had been seen; It may b'also, That h' had a will to shut the Gates for a time, by which the Forces of *Germany* entring into *Flanders*, might over-run and make spoil in *France*.

But when things changed their Countenance, and that the Risings of the *Catalans* formed another Conjuncture, he changed also Conduct, and judged, as it hath been already observed, That after th'Affairs of *Germany*, there was none whereunto h' ought t' apply himself with more heat, and to make a greater shew of his Forces, than to them of that Country; He foresaw, that the fruits which might be gathered from that Expedition, were not ordinary, and that th' advantages which might arise to the common cause might prove strong Motives to the Peace, for which the War was made: For besides, that the *Spaniards* could not long act powerfully in *Spain*, in *Flanders*, and in *Italy*, and the nourishment they ought to give to their Original Country, would consume the food of th' others Countrie, If the King of *Hungary* was seen full of troubles in *Germany*, and the King of *Spain* assaulted in th'Heart of his Estates, and troubled to defend his Life. It was not impossible, but that two Benefits also might arise very considerable; Th'one, that the Princes of *Germany*, separated from the good Party, might take courage to rejoyn with it; Th'other, that the League, wherein to that time they had laboured unprofitably, t'introduce th'*Italian* Princes, might be formed, and that they would not lose so fair an occasion to drive them away, who had stollen the Liberty of their Country, and to take away the mixture and confusion of Nations, and forein Manners, which sully and disfigure it. For t'imagine, that for less than that, the *Republique* of *Venice*, the most considerable of all those Princes, for what concerns Temporal things; That can give a shaking t'other Princes, and after that make no difficulty t'enter the Lists it had opened, would be perswaded to that League, 'Tis to b'ignorant of their spirit; It were to b' a stranger to their Maxims; And to believe, what is desired, upon the single Motions of passion. This point shall b'examin'd in the following Discourse, this having been but too long. I add onely, for advise of them who might find cause to desire something here on our part upon the subject of great Extremities, wherein th'Affairs have sometimes fallen in *Germany* and *Italy*; That the King could not do all things in all places, and that it may be he had done too much, as hath else-where been observed, but for an absolute Necessity and Inevitable, even for the good of his own Kingdom, to do it; That he could not alone divert all th'Evils that might happen in that Country, by the failings and insensibility of them, who were more interressed than himself, and for whose Liberty he took so great pains, and made so great an

Expence.

Expence; That in the course and great variety of Affairs, which exercised him, he could not always ordain; That they who received his Orders, should b'as happy t'execute them, and to compleat them, as he was prudent in laying of the Design, and preparing the Model; But 'tis a wonder, which will appear almost incredible to future Ages, and will be one of the faireſt Beams of the glory of this Prince, and one of the Nobleſt Monuments of his Incomparable Reign, That by his Wisdom, his Courage, and his Power, he raised at home, and with his Allies, what was ready to Fall; That he did set straight there all that began to Lean, and ever disappointed Fortune of her Malitious Progress, and of the Consequences of her Surprizes. Book II.

Eighth Discourse.

In what Conjuncture it may be probably thought; That the Venetians *will enter int' a League against the* Spaniards.

THough I do not think it necessary that this League, whereof hath been spoken, be made, or that the time of a General Peace be so backward, as t'attend the finishing of so difficult a Negotiation; I have believed nevertheless, that it would not b'impertinent for me to speak my thoughts, to make the Genius of the *Venetian* Republique to be the better known, and what may b'expected from it on like Occasions, and at the same time to make it appear to th' Author of a small Pamphlet, which appeared a little after the last Siege of *Casal*, under the name of a *Montferrat* Soldier, That the Season was not then come to form that League, as he did pretend it, and that the King was not ripe, according to the Sense of that Republique, and the Maxims of their Policy.

The foundation whereupon I do build my Opinion is this, That it being th'ordinary Nature of Republiques to be very distrustful, and to fear more than hope, when th'Apparances of Evil and Good are equal; It may be said, That *Venice*, of all other Republiques, Labours most of that humour; And that th'Inclination it hath in all it undertakes to give the least it can t'Hazard, and the most to Prudence, is the cause, that 'tis seldom enclined for the War, which is an Element of Fortune, unless an extreme Danger do force it, or a visible Benefit invite it. I could bring a number of antient Examples to confirm this Truth, if I did not believe, that Modern would be of most use and credit, as most efficacious, and of greater Instruction than th'others. In that high and wonderful Design, which the late King had formed against th'House of *Austria*, and to put the Quiet of *Christendom*, so often troubled by that House, in some state of consistency, he caused the Republique to be solicited to be of the Party; And notwithstanding the power h' had with them, which could not be greater, and th' Advantages h'had proposed unto

Book II. them, which were not small, for the Price of their Arming, and for th'Interest of th'Expence it should make; Though it was onely intended for the breaking off th'Irons of *Italy*, and to force from the *Spaniards* what they held unjustly there; Though all the fruits of the Conquest, whereof the greatest part was to be at his Charges, and by his Forces, were to be gathered for th'*Italians*, and that he reserved onely the glory of being their Liberator, and to make the *Spaniards* lose the place of drawing together the greatest part of their Armies; which was then the State of *Milan*; Yet he could never draw from that Republique, but general Words of Good-will and of Praises, which were uttered above measure, as 'tis its custom, to that Magnanimous Prince, who had no lesser Thoughts than to be the Flayl and th'Exterminator of Tyrants, the Restorer and Arbiter of the Christian Common-wealth.

The Republique then of *Venice* was not so blinded with the proposals that were made unto it, nor with th'Apparences wherewith they were cloathed, but that they had before their Eyes th'Instability of Human Things, and th'ordinary Games of Fortune, the perpetual Motion of her Wheel, and the sudden and frequent Revolutions which sh' occasions in the World. It apprehended, that before the Work, whereof the Platform was represented, was finished, or else well begun, th'undertaker might fail, either by a natural Death, which would not be strange, or by a violent End, which was not without Example. It desired to see all the Contexture of the League; The Seat and Action of the Pieces of that Engine, and the Success of its first Motions; That if it saw cause to renounce it, or to b'assaulted with some sad Accident, there might be no cause of Repentance for Joyning, nor t'accuse themselves of Precipitation and of falling, for having made too much haste; That if th'Heavens look'd favourably upon that League, and gave it a propitious Wind, It knew well, that the door would b'always open unto't; It knew, that without her, th' Expedition which was discoursed of for *Italy*, would be weak and lame, and that the perfections of its good success depended upon the conjunction of their Arms with those of other Princes. And then in entring the League it should run but a little hazard, and make but a small Advance of Moneys; It might find th'Harvest ready; It would have nothing to do, but to pursue the Remainders of the Victory, and should come rather to the Dividing, than Taking of the Prey. Such was the belief of the late King upon the Demeanor of that Republique, and to that purpose he gave charge to *Sir* of *Bullion* to speak to the Duke of *Savoy*, to whom h'had sent him to Conclude and Terminate the League, which the *Sirs* of *Nemours* and of *Vaucelas* had begun with him. The Reader may see it at length in th' Instruction given to the *Sir* of *Bouillon*, which in my opinion is a very excellent Piece, and one of the best things that I have seen in its kind. Let's go on.

After that *Cordova* had besieged *Casall*, and by an Attempt, whose beginning

beginning wanted a pretence to colour it; And had made it appear to th'*Italians*, That his Master would make no difference betwixt what might accommodate him, and what did belong to him; The Republique armed vigorously, and made some demonstration of interessing themselves in that Quarel. Nevertheless, of whatsoever Importance the conservation of *Casal* was for the safety of *Italy*, and though th' Ambition of *Spain* had not a stronger Barrier in that Country than that place; The Republique could never be perswaded to relieve it, or to send their Army into *Montferrat* t'assault *Cordova*'s Army, which was not Invincible, or to make a diversion on *Cremona*'s side, which was very easie to be done. But after it had seen th'happy Succes of the Siege of *Rochel*, and the passage of *Suza* forced, and by consequence one of the Gates of *Italy* open t'our Armies; The Republique resolved to command their Arms t'enter into the State of *Milan*, in whose defence it saw but a few Astonished Troops, and the Reliques of an Army, which Winter and the Besieged had ill used before *Casal*, and which had no strength, but to flie and to save it self at the sight of ours. Book II.

Though it was so, and that probably the fruits of the Victory the King had obtained could not be more certain or more fruitful, if it had been pursued; Though it seemed then, that no labour remained, but to gather the Favours which Fortune offered us of Her self, and to receive what would be rendred, yet many strokes ought t'have been made, and Combats fought, to make the Republique resolve to send Orders to their Generals to pass the *Rubicon*; That is, t'enter with a Warlike Posture into *Cremona*, and to Leap the Bounds had been almost an Age Sacred and Inviolable unto them. It was not without a long Agitation of Thoughts and extreme Labour of Spirit, that it was perswaded to that bold Resolution; Th'Eloquence and Addres of *Sir* of *Avaux*, how great soever, was never more pusled than to make the Republique t'undertake it; It brought the same Formalities, and the same Precautions, as when it determin'd t'accept the War, which th'*Herald* of *Lewis* the 12th declared against it on the behalf of the League of *Cambray*; Or that which the *Chaoux* of *Selim* the Second did intimate unto't for the possession of *Cyprus*: And since, after that, for Important Considerations, which I have touched in the First Part, the King had stopped the course of the Victory of *Suza*, and given Peace to the *Spaniards*, who were no longer in a condition to d'Evil t'our affairs; The Republique many times avowed to *Sir* of *Avaux*, That their Resolution to break so suddenly with *Spain* was Matter of great Astonishment to them, and was done by a kind of surprize, and contrary to th'ordinary course of their Conduct, so far t'Engage in the Quarrel of the Duke of *Mantoua*.

It may also b'observed by the War, or rather by the Persecution which the late Emperour and the King of *Spain* exercised upon that Duke, That 'tis very hard to draw the *Venetians* t'an Offensive

Book II. League, and t'engage them in a War, but by the Temptation of some great Advantage, which may appear to them as infallible, or by the Fear of a great Evil, which assaults them with Fury, and is ready, if it be not staid, to break upon them. So they could not b'induc'd to draw into the Field against the *Spaniards*, when *Casal* was at Bay, and all the *Montferrat* at Mercy; Till they saw on th'other side the Mountains, the *French* Colours to be displaied, and with them th'Hopes of the Conquest of *Milan*, and of the partition of that fair Country, which seem'd to b'open'd unto them by the Fortune of *France*; When they saw *Mantoua* in danger, and upon th'instant of loss; When they saw that th'Affair prest on that side, and that th'Evil was Inviolence; And by consequence, that the place which, in th'Hand of the Duke of *Mantoua*, served for a Rampart to some parts of their Country on the Land-side, falling into th'Hands of th'Emperour or the King of *Spain*, would be made as a Cittadel to command it; They gave orders for their Army t'advance for the Relief of *Mantoua*. But whether the Remedy came too late, or that the Malady was no longer capable of Cure, or that th'ill Conduct or Imprudence of them, who were ordered to dispense it, corrupted the Virtue, or hindred th'Operation, It hapned, that it did not produce th'effect which the *Venetians* had proposed to themselves, and t'express the matter, as it was; The delays they used in resolving upon that Relief; Th'Order of that Design the Duke of *Rohan* had contrived, which one of the chief Commanders of their Army changed by Jealousie, and th'Ill Intelligence which did arise betwixt the Duke of *Candale* and the Marshal of *Estree*, were the fatal Causes of the Losse of a place, which was of so great Concernment to the *Venetians* to Conserve. I conclude, from hence, That th'Eminent danger which excites them t'Act, hanging no longer over their Head, and the defeat of the *Spaniards* before *Casall*; the great losses they suffered before *Thurin*; And th'other disgraces which have since hapned unto them, Having dissipated the fears they Laboured of, lest the *Spaniards* should extend their Invasions upon the rest of *Italy*; And seeing that the Fortune of th'House of *Austria* was Highly sustained in *Germany*, and that the Spring which might send powerfull Reliefs to the State of *Milan* was not drawn drye, 'Tis not to be wondred, if they do refuse t'embarke in a Quarrel, wherein there's no great Evill for them to fear, nor certain good t'hope for, in case they did embarque in it. But if they saw the Confederate Forces Superiour, and prevalent in *Germany*, as they saw in *Spain*, the Seeds of a long War, and the Matter of a lasting Quarrel; And by consequent, that it should act no more in *Italy*, but by languishing and weak Means; There's probability that they would make use of the Conjuncture, and would have been glad t'have gained some part of the State of *Milan*, which might have been convenient for them; Or at least, that they would put themselves int'a posture to make the *Spaniards* throw up th'Usurpations

th'

th' had made in *Piedmont* and *Montferrat*, being able to do't safely and without fear of Revenge. And in truth, it would be a strange and very unjust thing, that being so interessed as they are in the Liberty of *Italy*, and having so much there to lose, they should ever stand there, as immoveable Spectators of what passeth in that Country; And in rest and ease, leave their Friends always to labour the Work of their Safety, and contribute nothing to th' advancement of the Peace, and raising of the Temple, that is prepared for them; but Idle Reasonings; but superfluous Wishes and Endeavours without Effect. For that Peace, I say, which is th' End of the Kings Arms, and th'object of his Hottest and Constant desires, for which, He lays up so many Cares and Labours; Exposeth His Person to so many Dangers, and draws so much Money from the purses of his Subjects, and so much bloud from their Veins; for that Peace, which ought not only t'ease the Wounds of *Christendome*, but ought fully t' Heal and strengthen it; which ought not only to be a Remedy against present, but also a preservation against future Evils; which ought to put Inferiour Persons in safety from the Violence and Attempts of the greatest Persons, and under whose shadow all shall enjoy what shall belong to them without Trouble or Jealousie. Book II.

Ninth Discourse.

What Conditions that Peace ought t' have which all Honest Persons desire, That it may be Just and Sure; That the particular Peaces which th' House of Austria *Endeavours to make would be the Ruine of them who make it.*

WHat I've said of the League, which the Republique of *Venice* might be disposed to make, and of the Peace, to which it ought to Contribute more reality and effect, than wishes and Endeavours, Invites me to say a Word of the Conditions, which such a Peace ought t'have, and of th'ill Fortune of those Princes, wh' have estranged themselves from it in *Germany*. To th'end then, that it may be such, as all Honest Men desire, and to lay the Foundations so deep and solid, That there may be no fear of the falling of the building, or that it Crack of a long time, It must of necessity be a General Peace, And that all they wh' associate to make War, make but one Composed Body of many Members, and have but one soul to Move them, and but one End t'Aim at; That the Confederates procure to themselves mutually and without the spirit of Emulation, all th'Honest Helps and all the Reasonable Advantages, which may serve for common safety; That although the League offensive doth separate, and their Armies disband, a defensive League do remain ever

Book II. ever a foot, As Guardian of the Peace, and as th'Holy Ancre upon which it may repose, by which all the Confederates ought t'oblige themselves to run the first down, that shall undertake to break it, and to rekindle the Torches which it had put out, and revive the Troubles which it had quieted; And that from th'Indissoluble union and the perfect Correspondency of Princes and others of that League, so powerfull a Counterpoise be formed, and so Strong and High a Levy made against th' Ambition of th' House of *Austria*, That it might be Compelled to contain its self, within the Limits, which shall be prescribed, and t' enjoy the good of Acquiescence it would lose by taking it away from others.

'Tis of this Matter, that the peace whereof Christendome hath need, ought to be made, that it may be durable; 'Tis upon this Basis that it ought to be raised, if Men would have it subsist. Besides this way, I do not see, That strength Enough or subsistence can be given it; And 'tis certain, that if the Confederates shall be tempted by the Baits and Advantages, which will be presented unto them by particular Treaties, and that the Members of the League do sever from the body, that they compose; They will infallibly be lost; And it will befall them, as to those Insects, which are cut in peeces, that preserve for a little time some Motion and Life, but Dye and Perish a little after, for being deprived of the Virtue, that did arise from th'Union of all the parts, as the Principle of their Duration. From whence it may be seen, what Imprudence the Duke of *Saxe* is guilty of, and th'other Princes of *Germany* who followed the course of the first Mobile, to sever themselves from the *Swedish* Alliance. For, without speaking of th'offence committed against Honesty, by that separation whereof, mention hath been made; of that Villainous Blot of Ingratitude, wherewith they have Charged themselves in the Memory of a Prince to whom they were so much indebted; Their Interests obliged them alwaies to stand united; And instead of that unlucky Peace of *Prague*, which was sold unto them so dear; They should have Laboured a General peace, which had not left open any Wounds nor Burning-firebrands in th' Empire; which had not left any Snares, nor concealed any Ambushes, and which might have been gained by a shorter or a less grievous War, than that which was shut up in th'other and yet continues. In Effect, if Powder had not been Cast into th'Eyes of those Princes, and if their Councel had not deceived them; If some little Light or some little Liberty had been left them to see, what they did, or t'hinder the doing of it; Is there any Apparence but that they had seen the Precipice, whither they brought them, or that they would have descended Voluntarily into it? Is there any Probability that they would have taken so grosly th'Exchange that was given them; That they would depart from a Society to put themselves into Chains, and that from Equals and Companions as they were of the *Swedes*, They would have made themselves slaves of th'Imperialists, and Dependents upon the *Spaniards*?

ards ? Would they not have Known, that instead of passing by a light discontent and a small distaste received from one of the Ministers of State of the Crown of *Swede*, wherein an easie Remedy might have been found, They exposed themselves t' all th'Injuries, which Tyranny hath Accustomed to practise with them, of whom they will b'assured, and are afraid of, lest they should Escape them ? That in th'Alliance of that Crown, what they Contributed to th' Entertainment of the War, was voluntary, or could not exceed the Contents of the Conditions of the Treaty ; what they ought to Contribute to that of th' Emperours, had no other Limits but their want of power; That the Charge of th'Expence, which they would be obliged to make would re-double without stint, and would b' Heavy without Measure ; And that they would not less endeavour in that deceitfull and unfaithful Confederation to cause all their Heat and Spirits to b' exhaled, and to draw from them Monies and Men, Than t'exterminate the *Swedes* out of *Germany*, and to purge, as they say, th'Empire of forein Nations, wh' have Cast themselves into't, that they might have nothing to doe, but with them, when they 've done with others ? Book II.

If from the Principles of the *Spanish* Policies, which Reign as freely at *Vienna* as at *Madrid*, they will not draw so necessary a Conclusion ; Let them inferr it at least from their own Experience, and Consider, That if others would not Hold them but by the Bands of Friendship, and by the sense of good Turnes ; if they had not a design to Consume them in destroying the *Swedes* and other Strangers, and to make use of them against *Swedes* and Strangers, as the Refiners do Lead, to Purifie Gold and Silver in the Refining Vessel, which, in the same instant it sends into smoak th 'other imperfect Metalls, Evaporates it self and is lost with them it forceth away. They would not have made, as they have done to their power their Countries the Theatre of the War ; They would not have made the same scorn of their Troops, as of their Enemies ; And they should have received at least, as gentle Entertainment, as what the Duke of *Baviere* received. Let them remember the discourse held at *Rome* by th' Ambassadors of the Late Emperor upon the Complaints there made of the Concession their Master had granted of the Goods of the Church to the Duke of *Saxe*, to the great Damage and Disdain of Religion, and to the great scandal of good Catholiques. That it was the small Aid and Subvention received from th' *Holy Chair*, which constrained him ; That it was the Violence of his Affairs that had forced him ; And that it was th'hardest and most Inexorable of all Laws, That of Necessity to which He had obeyed.

Let the Clearing now of this Mystery and of the Concealed sense of these Words b' examined ; Let the secret spirit they contain be drawn out ; And it may be Judged in my opinion, That that peace Holding more of Force than of Election, and Being rather torn, than freely past from the Will of th'Emperor ; There would be no want

of

Book II. of Doctors to prove that it ought not to b' observed, at least by his Successors who had not made it ; That they could not b' obliged t'hold what was not lawfull for their Predecessors to grant, and that no Promises were more unlawfull, and whose Ligament is sooner to be Cut, and Damage repaired, than such as wound Religion, and dissipate the goods of the Church, for the Protection and Defence whereof, they 've a particular and inevitable Obligation. The Princes then, who 've quitted the Confederations so Solemnly sworn, and so often renewed with their true Friends, to cast themselves into the peace of *Prague*, ought t' hold for certain, that they 've abandoned the pursute of a Reality, and of a Body, t'embrace an Apparition and a shadow ; And that there's but one of these three wayes open to their future Condition, Either to remain for the final prey of th'Imperialists, as hath been expressed, and to make up the Conclusion of the Game they play in *Germany*, if the Confederate party be subdued ; or if the Victory fall on the *Swedes* side, T' endure the Troubles of the violation of publique Faith, and th'Effects of the Vengeance which the bloud of the King of *Swede* requires, poured out for the Redemption of their Liberty ; or at last, if they will see the Truth of this *Amnestia*, which is the Subject of the Confederate Armes, instead of that other Imaginary, which hath been the Bait, wherewith th' House of *Austria* hath caught them; If they would see the Constitutions and th' Ancient Order of th'Empire to reflourish ; If they would see a perpetual Fence made to th' Ambition of them that throw it open, That I say, This may be done Quickly and Easily, There's nothing to be done, but to return to the good Party, and to rejoyn with them who Labour with so much vehemency at this Immortal work. I go on and say also, That as there's no doubt to be made but th' House of *Austria* will move all the Wheels of their Policy to disunite the League, which is on foot in *Germany*, and to reduce the present Troubles to particular peaces, and like to that of *Prague* ; And 'tis not, I say, to be doubted, but it will be made, that every one of the Confederates Engaged for his particular, and severed from the body of the League, may be found the weaker to resist him, when he shall be Assaulted, Though the Contrary be promised. And to be secured from this Inconveniency, 'Tis necessary to take the Counter Course taken by that House, and to put in practice the Law of Contraries, which is of so great Use in th'Affairs of the World ; All the Confederates ought to resolve never t' Disunite ; To reject all proposals, that may be made them of particular Treaties, as a designed Poyson which shall be presented to them in the form of a Remedy; and t'Insist upon it till it be concluded in the project of a General Peace ; That it be not declined, till it be Accomplished, and in such a Defensive League, as I 've here above described.

But lest, that in Threatning them with the License, which is said, Th' House of *Austria* gives it self to violate all Treaties, whose observation

Observation is Damageable, and the not Observation Advantagious unto it, I may give them a false Alarm, and raise fear from a false Imagination. It may be, that 'tis as Carefull to perform what she Promiseth, and particularly, when the Name of God is Interposed, as it hath been, th' other specious Apparences of Piety, and th' out-side of Exemplary Religion; And that it Aims at nothing more than a good Peace, and that its Intention is, when it hath gained this Haven, to put it self no more in danger for the Future, unless it be forced upon so Dangerous a Sea, as the Warr. I will demonstrate here the Contrary, and make it Evident, That in truth, it gives it self that License, and that it doth abuse the Name of God, and plaies with the Publick Faith, when their Interests require it, more than any Prince of the World. For this purpose, I do not intend to play the Orator, nor to make use of an Art, which boasts of her Colours, and lights, to Change, when it pleaseth the state of Things, and to make them seem Great or Little, Fair or Ugly, when it shall seem good unto Her; This is as much Estranged from my Humours, as 'tis above my Forces; And I do Heartily renounce an Exercise, which I should discharge Unhandsomely, if I did undertake it. I will not here neither, produce all the Breaches of the Treaties, which this House of *Austria* hath made, nor all th' Infidelities, wherewith it hath stained its Conduct. Great Volumes are only capable to Contain them. I will touch only upon somewhat more Modern, as more Sensible, and upon what hath passed in these latter times in *Germany* and *Italy*. Book II.

As t' *Italy*, who knows not that the last Warrs the *Spaniards* have made to the Duke of *Savoy*, Grand-father to this Duke, have alwaies budded from the Breach on their part of th' Treaties, which preceded? And so soon as the fear of th' Evil, which had Obliged them for Accomodation, was over, and that the hope of th' End which they had Proposed to their Arms, began to Revive, They lost the Memory of the Peace they had Sworn, and made no Difficulty to renew the Quarrel, and to re-kindle the Disorder at the Charges of their Faith, and against all Justice. So that what Intervened betwixt two Warrs, was not so much a Peace as a Suspension of Arms, nor the Cure of the Feaver, as the Remission of th' Access; The fire was Covered under th' Ashes, but Dyed not in th' Intention of the *Spaniards*, and it hapned t' all that Affair, as to Wounds ill Dressed, which often break out; It was renewed frequently; And that Game lasted till new Accidents made the *Spaniards* take new Designs, and that the Troubles of *Germany* allayed them of *Italy*.

I speak not here of the Peace of *Suza*, which they Violated without other Colour, than that they were Necessitated to do't, for th' Interest of their Reputation; nor of th' Ingratitude, wherewith they requited the Courtesie, which the King did in their behalf, and that rare Moderation which made him bound his Prosperity by the

Book II. delivery of his Allies, and permitted him not t' Overcome, but where it found Resistance. It hath been spoken of in another place, and shall be Spoken of more fully in the Third Part. I remit also to speak there of the Treaty of *Cuiraſque*, which the Necessity of the *German* Affairs forced from them, rather than the Love of the Peace of *Italy*; And to which, the Resolutions of the Dyet of *Ratisbone*, and th' Entry of the King of *Swede* into *Germany*, where th' Evidences of the Tempest did then Appear, which hath since fallen upon th' House of *Austria*, forced them to consent, and to set their Hands with design not t' observe it, so soon as they had sent us over the Mountains, as shall be declared at large, in th' Apology of th' Acquisition of *Pignerol*. I will not also, Revive here the Deceits they practised towards the *Venetians*, and th' Alterations they gave them upon the business of th' *Uscoques*. It were to repeat, but what hath been said. I pass also in silence the various Tricks which at several times they put upon the *Grisons*, and th' Artifices, and open Force, wherewith they have so often assaulted their Liberty, against the Faith of the Treaties, made with them, and with their Allyes.

That will be seen in the Third Part, in th' Apology of the Treaty of *Moncon*, where I give a very Exact Table of th' Affairs of that Common-wealth. I come to them of *Germany*, and to what passed upon that Scean, not less Famous by the Treaties, than by the Warrs, which were managed there: Who knows not that the Peace of *Ulmes*, Concluded by the Mediation of *France*, gave Means to th' Emperour t' Ease himself of the Weight of the Warr under which he Groaned, and t' unravel the Perplexities from which he could not be dis-intangled but by that Expedient? And who knows not also, That he observed it no longer than was Necessary for to prepare for a Warr, which he resolved in Swearing the Peace; And that the Ruine of the Count *Palatine*, and of his Friends, proceeded only from the Confidence they raised in that Treaty, and from that Ruinous Foundation, whereupon they trusted, as upon an Holy Anchor, by the Right of Nations, by the Reverence of the Name of God, which therein was Interposed, and by th' Authority of so Great a Mediator as the King of *France*?

After the Gain of the Battel of *Prague*, and that fatal Series of Prosperities which follows great Victories; After that th' Imperial Arms had Triumphed over all that favoured the *Palatines* party, and that the Count of *Tilly*, and Marquis of *Spinola*, had stripped Naked that unhappy Prince, Th' Emperour transferred his Electorate to the Duke of *Baviere*, and divided his Country between him and the King of *Spain*; But it being pretended, that the Formalities Ordained by the Golden Charter, and by th' other Pragmatique Sanctions, had not been observed in that Translation and Partition; and for fear, that proceeding which they supposed to be Violent, should Offend th' other *Electors* by a common Interest, and Provoke the

the King of *England* to a Revenge, and to Prosecute the Reparation of th' Out-rage done to his Son-in-Law; Th' Emperour protested in the Dyet of *Ratisbone*, in the year 1662. *That h' had transferred th' Electorate to th' House of* Bavicre *for the Dukes Life only, that was Invested with it; And for what Concerned the Palatinate, he would make Reparation to the Count* Palatine, *and give Satisfaction thereupon to his Friends: He gave the same Assurances to the King of* England *by his Letters, in the year* 1623. which the Duke of *Baviere* also Confirmed by his Letters, and signified the King; He understood that it was only for his Life, that his House should Enjoy th' Electoral Dignity, and that h' had Accepted it upon Condition of Return to th' House, from whence it was taken, and should be the Privilege of his Person, and not th' Inheritance of his Heirs. It was th' Allay that was alwaies Presented to the King of *England*, and wherewith he Suffered himself alwaies to be Surprized; And his Inclination naturally disposed to the Sweetness of Rest, and to the Delicacies of Peace, was Easily diverted by that shew, which was made of giving him Content, from the Thoughts of Warr, which were not Natural to him. In th' Expectation of th' Effects of those hopes, he finished his Life, which from time to time were renewed unto him; And th' Earl of *Gondemar*, who had seized upon the Kings Understanding, and taken Soveraign Possession of it to Govern him absolutely, knew how to represent th' Execution of that Affair so infallible, as not only t' Hinder the King from Arming against the Usurpators of his Son-in-Laws Lands, but Enclined him also to Lend Ships to his Master, to secure against th' *Hollanders the Spanish Fleets*, which Sailed from th' *Indies*. Book II.

That business hath ever since been in the same Condition on th' Emperours part, and stood alwaies floting in Irresolution and Incertitude, till the Accident of *Northlinghen*, which was fatal to the *Swedes*. The greatest part of the Princes, and free Towns of th' Empire, fell from their Confederation, and Conspired at *Prague* with th' House of *Austria*, against the *German* Liberty. Th' Emperour High and Proud with his prodigious Success, and believing himself Master of Affairs and Fortune, forgetting the Promises he had so Solemnly made to the Late King of *England*, and the Faith h' had so often given him in Favour of his Son-in-Law, though nothing had passed against him on that Princes occasion, nor by the Means of his Children, but a Sad and Lamentable Progress of Calamity, and of Disgraces, declared by his own Authority, (though he could not Lawfully do it) but by th' Authority of a Lawfull Dyet, and all Parties heard, declared I say, *Th' Electorate duely Translated to the Duke of* Bavaria, *and to his Heirs, and that it could not Devolve t' any other Family till his was Extinguished*; Moreover, *He declared th' Opposition made by the Duke of* Newbourge, *as Prince of the* Palatine *Family, to be Void, and that he was not to b' admitted upon his Claim; And that this was done upon great and im-*

Book II. *portant Considerations, known t' his Imperial Majesty; That he Maintained and Confirmed in the Partition and Possession of the Palatinate, them, wh' had taken it in his Name, and by his Authority, with Respect to b' had to the Count Palatines*, and to the Requests of Princes, who should Intercede for them, and under such base and shamefull Conditions, That he knew well they would never b' Accepted.

But remembring the Bloody affront done to the present King of *England*, and the Counterpoise that he might bring to the Ballance, where the Victory hung betwixt two Parties, if he should declare for his Enemy; Remembring also the Damages the *Low-Countrymen* would receive in the Cessation of the Recruits th' *English* might bring them; And other Consequences that might arise from th' Hatred of a Prince, provoked to Revenge by frequent disdains offered unto him, and by th' Extreme injuries done t' his Nephews; He re-assumed the Foxes skinn, which h' had put off at the Treaty of *Prague*, and Exercised the first Art, wherewith h' had so often play'd his Game with the Father, t' abuse the Son, and to suspend the Resolution he might take, to seek by Force, what had been denied t' his Intercession and Endeavours. He made shew then of Entertaining the profers of Accommodation, which were made to Him; He received the King of *Englands* Message for that purpose, and seemed to desire a Solemn Embassage t' yield with the greater Honour, and to give the more Glory to the Treaty he would Conclude. But th' Journey of th' Earl of *Arundel*; The several Distasters, which he there received, and the Dissatisfaction, which at last he brought back, made Clearly manifest to the World, the Truth of th' Emperours Intentions, and that it was a studied Artifice to gain Time, and to try the Fortune of Warr with the more Advantage, having to do with the fewer Enemies.

I speak not of what hapned to the last Ambassadour, that was sent from *England*, nor of the success of his Embassy, which hath not given the Lye to the former; 'Tis a matter too new and present to b' unknown by any Person. And this may be said in favour of th' House of *Austria*, That it being necessary, the Treaty to be Concluded, should be debated by the King and *Parliament* of the *Kingdome*; The time was not proper for it, whilst the *King* and his Parliament were divided; That truly is not without Reason and plausible Pretence, but the secret of th' Affairs is, That so long as the Schism shall last, and the Fire which th' *English* have kindled in the midst of their Country, be maintained in Heat and Force, The King of *Hungary*, and they of his Party, have no Cause to fear their Arms, nor t' hasten a Treaty. And if it b' Expedient, that they treat in Earnest, it may be time enough, when th' *English* have re-assumed their former Union, and the design of restoring the *Palatines* House, and re-establishing of the Princes, th' Emperour and his Adherents had stripped to their Shirts.

That whilst they run th' Hazard of the Warr, either they may gain

gain so Considerable Successes, and their Power may Encrease so Plentifully, That when *England* shall enter into the League, which all sorts of Reasons d' invite it to do, and to Joyn his Forces with the Forces of the Confederates, They would have nevertheless Cause t' hope for Victory, and should not b' obliged to part with that Willingly, which they could not take from them by Force. Book II.

These Prejudications, which are Offered, accompanied with many others shall be set down in the Third Part, may suffice to make it appear to our Confederates, what Foundation they can raise upon the Duration of particular Treaties, to which th' House of *Austria* doth press and sollicit them. And the *Swedes* above all Persons, whom they would debosh from the Confederation of *France*, and against whose Faith they raise their strongest Batteries, and Arm their subtilest Artifices, are too Dextrous to b' ignorant of the constant Resolution, and immoveable Will of those Princes of that House, not to Suffer them, having advanced their Power so far into *Germany*, to take deep Root there, or that so Powerfull a Member, and of so Warlike a Nation, should b' adjoyned to th' Empire. I believe also, that they doubt not, as to what respects the Duration and Subsistence of the particular Treaty they should have made with them, but that they would find a thousand Pretences of Honour to break without Disgrace, and a thousand Evasions of Conscience to Violate it without Scruple, and that they will bring to their Relief, as hath been in another place Discoursed, that Maxim, which they hold ever in Reserve to make use of in time of need, That they are not obliged t' hold Faith with *Heretiques*; Chiefly, when it hath been given in things which help to confirm Heresie in any Country, from whence they have a design to Banish it, which furnish it with Food and Strength, which swells and makes it proud with Temporal and other Human advantages for Subsistence. That giving them the Reputation of Robbers of the People, and for Ravishers of Estates, as infallibly they will do; They make use against them of that Opinion of the Casuists, which is derived from the Root of Nature, and whereof th' Heathen have not been ignorant; That promises made to Robbers by force, when Men are at their Discretion, and the Power is in their Hands, oblige not by Consequence th' Observation of them, and impose not a Yoak, which may not be broken without doing Evil.

Briefly, they ought t' hold for certain, That the *Spaniards* enjoying *Spain*, the fruitfullest Mine, and the fullest Spring of the Cases of Conscience that is in *Christendome*; And being Masters of the Stock, from whence more abundantly, than from any other place, the sharp and subtil Doctors, who make when they will, such curious and exquisite Anatomies of th' Actions and Manners of Men, and wh' have full Magazines of Colours to disguise things; who decide with a wonderfull Boldness, such Difficulties, as the Bible, the Councils, the *Popes*, and the *Fathers* would not touch; And

failing

Book II.

failing for the most part of a fixed Point t' establish their Opinions upon, and making use of so soft and flexible a Rule to measure them by, as their Reasoning; Know by consequent t'accommodate them when they please, to th'Inclinations of them who consult with them.

The *Swedes*, I say, ought t'hold for certain, That the Princes of that House will ever find some of their Doctors (for the same Judgment is not to be past upon all of them) who will maintain, That not t'hold t' Heretiques what hath been promised them, is no Evil, when a Good may arise from it to Religion; And to strip them of Temporal Goods, which serve for Nourishment, and Aid t'Heresie, though the possession of them had been promised, is not an Action more blamable, than to take a Sword from th' hand of a furious Person, who might run it through his Heart, what promise soever had been made to the contrary. At the worst, The Princes of the Time, and particularly they of th'House of *Austria*, are too Intelligent and too Ingenious to want th' occasions of Troubles, when they've use of them; And th' Affairs of *Christendome* are at this day so vexed and confused, that what care soever is taken to clear and compose them, 'tis certain, that for a long Time there will be but too much matter of Quarrel and of offence, for them wh' have a mind to't.

Tenth Discourse.

That the Confederation between the King and his Associates hath all the necessary Conditions required in a durable Peace; Some Considerations upon the Nature of Leagues, that they may the better be maintained.

IT appears clearly by what hath been above-said, that the Troubles of *Christendom* cannot b' appeased by such deceitful and unfaithful Means, as particular Peaces; And that it were to build its Acquiescence upon Ice, which would dissolve at the first Beams of the Sun, to raise it upon so uncertain and shallow a Foundation. And that it may be such, as is desired, it must be raised upon the Basis of a General Peace; And that a permanent Confederation of them, wh'are associated to make War, be the Buckler of that Peace, and the Rampier to secure it, from th'assaults that may be made against it; It must b'also the perpetual obstacle to restrain th' House of *Austria*, and t'hinder it from making Invasions upon his Neighbours, and to vex it for the future, as it Hath done others for the time past. And as there is so strong a Bond, and so streight a Correspondency between the Branches and the Dependences of that House, that it may be said, they've all but one Interest, and that th'are seen to run to the Relief of one another with the same Heat and Impetuosity, as if it were their own business. In like manner, all other

other things laid aside, the Confederate Powers ought always to b'of a good understanding, and ever ready t'act unanimously against th'House of *Austria*, as often as it shall itir injuriously against any of them; And resuming the spirit of Ambition, which is so natural to't, and gives it so much trouble, shall presume again to conspire against the Peace of *Christendom*, and against the Liberty of those Princes. Book II.

And it seems to me, that the Confederation now on foot between the King and other Princes, who joyn with him to procure a just and sure Peace to the rest of *Christendome*, hath all the necessary Conditions to form and maintain that fair Union and perfect Correspondency, which we would oppose to that which unites and conjoyns th'House of *Austria*, and its Dependences. 'Tis what, I pretend to make appear in the following Discourse, and in examining the Nature and the Conditions of the most famous Leagues, which *Christendom* hath seen for the two last Ages, and in discovering the Defects and Weaknesses where they have failed, and which have been the Means of their Dissolution and Ruine.

To discourse then of the Matter, I say, That although there are two sorts of Leagues, or that they may be considered under two different Considerations, and under two distinct Functions; Both of them have need of the same Supports for their Establishment, and of the same Cares for their Duration. There are some Leagues which, according to the first Intention of them that made them, have no visible Action in them, nor Motion, nor Life, that is sensible, which properly signifie no more than to secure from apprehended Motions of War, and t'impede turbulent Princes from making of Troubles; As Banks stop the Sea from over-flowing, and restrain th'Invasions and Spoils which otherwise it would make. Other Leagues are all in Motion, and the first Idea under which they're projected, is to serve for Remedies against th'Evils which press, and not against them which are feared; To repel the Tempests which break forth, and not to cherish the Calms that reign. I will give you of both some Examples, which shall be the Foundations of our Reasonings, and may render th'Instructions to be drawn from it more easie and sensible. In the time of *Lawrence* of *Medicis*, the greatest Politician of his Age, a League was formed and flourished, and many other Princes and States of that Country associated to conserve the publick Peace, and t'Arm unanimously against him that should first disturb it, and break that sweet Harmony of the People, which made *Italy* happy.

The League had aspect chiefly upon the *Venetians*, who being then the most powerful of all the Princes of *Italy*, were esteemed also the most ambitious, and it may be for that reason onely, that they were the strongest; And that they did not believe, That the Moderation of Desires, accompani'd willingly with Great Forces, nor that Sobriety could b'observed in the Temptation of Abundance.

But

Book II. But the Cement of that League being the wisdom of *Laurence* of *Medicis*, and that it wanted somewhat of more strength and duration for its subsistence; It hapned, that it fell by the death of *Laurence*, and that *Lodowick Sforza* was the first that broke off from it to gain the State of *Milan* from his Nephew, and which opened the Gate by which the *French* entred *Italy*, and after them the *Spaniards*, and the *Germans*. It hapned also, as by a just Judgment from God, That th'Usurpator of the State of his Nephew, and the Perturbator of the Peace of his Country, saw himself stripped of that State, and banished his Country, to pass the rest of his days, and die a Prisoner in a Forein Country. That which was to be desired to complete that League, and which made it break, was the want of a real and effective great Power to support the weak Pieces of it, which should not have been subject to yielding by death, nor of falling by disgrace, and might serve t'all of them for a Haven in time of Tempest, and for Resurrection in case of Misfortune.

But in th'Establishment of durable Leagues, and in the collection of Pieces that compose it for duration; 'Tis not sufficient, that a great Power be conjoyned, unless the Motions of that Power be Moderate, and have the General Good of the League for its End, to which it serves for Chief and Centre. Otherwise, if that Superiour Power do determine the Ruine of others, and aim at doing Its business, and not theirs, they will quickly sever, and so soon as the great Evil they feared is over, and that the Torrent which gave them trouble is stopped, they will withdraw their Contributions, and no longer furnish Materials, nor lend their Arms to constitute a Society, which might in time prove fatal unto them. Let Examples explain our Meaning.

When th'Heresie of *Luther* had taken root in *Germany*, and stretched its Branches almost over all the North, a League was formed at *Smalchalde* against *Charls* the Fifth, of the greatest part of the Princes and States that had embraced their new Sect; Th'Emperour was constrained to form another League to this, and t'implore th'aid of Catholique Princes in an occasion, where th'Antient Religion had cause to fear all that could issue of sad and tragical, from the fury and zeal of the new Sects; Some Catholique Princes refused to Joyn, as the *Venetians*; Others did Engage, whereof the most considerable, and who sent the fairest and greatest Army, was th'*Holy Father*; Th'Emperour with this Supply, which was useful, and with his Virtue and ordinary Fortune, got the better of th'Associated Protestants, and had forced his Victory further into *Germany*, if the Pope, who knew, that *Charls* aimed not at the Heretiques, but at the Rebels of th'Empire, had not staid his course, and withdrawn his Forces, whereby th'Emperour was disappointed, and stood as *Immoveable* in the pursute of his designs, as a Ship, when the Wind suddenly abates, and is surprized with a Calm.

Two things are here to b'observed, which establish and confirm the

the Propositions proposed, Th'one, That the Protestant League fell Book III.
by the first Blow it received, without rising again, and one lost Battel made it vanish into smoke; for the first Reason given, and because it wanted some great Power that might have rallied the scattered Forces; That might have raised new Men, and have drawn them together to fight their Enemies, and for other Trials of Fortune. And indeed, to speak truly of the thing, 'Tis the same with petty Princes, who make a League against a more powerful Prince, as with a Society of Gamesters, wh' are not rich, and having made a Stock, to which every one contributed all the Mony h' had, so soon as that Money is lost, are out of countenance, and are constrained to break up company, and to retire with their loss; In like manner, th'others setting a foot at first all their Forces, and straining to their uttermost, being defeated, are without recovery, and disband immediately, if some great Power do not interpose to rally them. W' have also seen the same thing happen to the Protestant League, which took its beginning from th'incident Troubles between the Pretenders to the Succession of *Cleves*, and which dissolved upon th' occasion of th'Election of the Count Palatine to the Kingdom of *Bohemia*; The first great Blow that was given became mortal to't; And it was so astonished at the loss of the Battel of *Prague*, that it could never recover its strength again; And all that the King of *Denmark*, *Halberstat*, and *Mansfelt* have since done, to re-inforce that Party, have served onely to make it languish the longer, and resembled the precious Waters are given to desperate sick persons, which make th'Heart a little to recover, and prolong the life some few howers, but restore not health, and prevent not death.

Th'other thing to be considered in the Catholique League, which subdued the Protestants, is, That it held indeed of great Powers, and that it had for Foundation and Ligament a great Emperour, who made th' Eagles of th'Empire fly higher than they'd done since *Charlemain*'s time. But being more Ambitious than Powerful, He carried not falsly that Embleme which discovered th'Immensity of his Desires,

Never to stop, but to pass always further.

For without respect to the good of his Confederates, He studied onely his Particular profit; That was the cause, as hath been observed, that they retired from the League. The same Emperor endeavoured, after the re-establishment of *Sforces* in the State of *Milan*, to form in *Italy* another League of the first sort, under pretence of employing it against the *French* irruptions that should undertake to trouble their Peace, and to draw thither to raise Quarrels; or to make use of them against the *Turk*, if his Fleets assaulted the States of any of the Confederates, and Infested their Shoars. But th'*Italians* were as Cautious as he was subtil, and dis-

Book II. covering th' Hook he did cast into so specious a Bit, They would not be taken with it. For it was very visible to them, That th'Emperor aimed from thence to confirm his Power in *Italy*, which the *French* alone were able to shake; And in holding the *Turk* at Bay, to labour with more ease and less opposition the ruine of *Christians*. The *Germans* were not so well advised and wise, when they formed that League of *Suaube*, which served so long to do th' Affairs of th'House of *Austria*, and t'advance their Greatness, under colour of suppressing the Rebells of th'Empire, and the Disturbers of the Peace of *Germany*; It had not staid there, and th'Ill which it did, believing to do well, had not so soon ceased, if it had not been dissipated by th'Endeavours of *Francis* the First, and by th'Industry and Eloquence of *Sir* of *Langey*, who made the *Dutch* to comprehend th'*Austrian* Artifices, and laid open the Stratagems that were on foot by that Family to destroy them.

In the precedent Discourse, I 've given you the platform of that League, which *Philip* the Second endeavoured to make with the *Pope* and with the *Venetians*, after that *Selim* the Second had assaulted *Cyprus*, and that the noise of th'*Ottoman*'s Arms, with the consternation and fear of them, had flown about *Italy*. We 've also there seen the Resistance made by the *Pope* and the *Venetians*, to the proposals of that Prince, which breathed onely his particular Interest. And we shall see in the Third Part the small satisfaction that the *Venetians* drew from that League, which was concluded with him, and that at last they were constrained to make a separate Accord with the *Turk*, and without the privity of *Philip*, as many years before they 'd been obliged to buy their peace of *Soliman*, after that the proceedings of *Charls* the Fifth, with whom they were in League, gave them occasion to know, That they could not continue the War in so ill Company, and in so unfaithful a Society, without running th'hazard of Ruine. It hath not been dangerous onely to make Leagues with *Charls* the Fifth, and with *Philip* his Son; Th' Evil came from an higher Line, and the Corruption hath a higher Spring; *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* their Grandfather transmitted unto them with his Blood, that too much interessed Inclination; As he was one of them who broke the League of *Cambray*, to the prejudice of *Lewis* the Twelfth, who had so Legally observed it; And the League he made at *Blois* was to strip the King of *Naples* his Kinsman, of his Inheritance, and for the full Conquest of his Kingdom. And after he had gained by the Valour of the Great Captain, what did belong t' his Partition, he caused us to be vexed, and made studied Quarrels to take away the Partition that did belong to us; By th' Invincible Habit th'House of *Austria* hath acquired not t'observe, what it hath promised; And from their subtil Art to dispose the Leagues where it Enters, to its particular Ends, without respect to the Good of th'other Confederates. In that of *Germany*, which subsisted under the name of Catholique; In apparence, it avoided the direction of that

that Army t abate the Jealousie of the Confederates, and that the Forces of that League were put into th'hands of the Duke of *Bavaria*, a Prince of another House, and under the Count of *Tilly*, a Lieutenant General, which depended upon him. But in this there was but a Transposition of Colours, whilst the Things were the same; And th'Emperour gained that by a by-way, which he could not obtain by a streight; whilst the Forces of that League held the Protestant Arms at a Bay, and hindred all that they could undertake against the Catholiques; He resolved to raise others in his own Name, and under General *Wallestine*, that had dependency and relation onely upon himself; Th' Emperor with these Forces, which made themselves formidable and prodigious by th' inventions of Quarters, which this great General gave to th'Officers to make their Levies, began to give the Law t'all *Germany*, and threatned all that was independent and free; And when th' affair of *Mantoua* hapned, it appeared then certainly to the Catholiques, that it was not so much to the Religion of the Protestants that th' Emperor made War, as to their Estates; And the Peace he made with the King of *Denmark*, t'intend th'oppression of the Duke of *Mantoua*, made them understand, That if the progress of his Arms was not stopped, Catholiques and Protestants should be concerned in the same Mischief; And that they had not begun t'act by the ruine of th'one, but for to finish, by the ruine of th'others. The descent then into *Italy* of th'Emperours best Forces, under the Conduct of *Cosalto*, and the condition *Germany* found it self in from thence to be discharged of that burthen of Soldiers which oppressed it, gave courage to the Duke of *Bavaria* and his Party, to speak high at the Diet of *Ratisbon*, in favour of the *German* Liberty, and then to demand the Degradation of *Walsthein*, who was the Flayl, and the most proper Instrument th'Emperour could have found t'impose servitude on *Germany*. The *Spaniards* also, to whom the fierce and indocile humour of *Wallesthein* was odious, and who looked upon him as the greatest Obstacle they could have encountred upon the way they had made plain, for the re-uniting of th'Empire to their Branch, thrust stoutly at the Wheel the Duke of *Bavaria* had set a going. The Protestants on th'other side, who had been plundred, or believed that they should be plundred, and to whom th' exorbitant Contributions, which *Wallesthein* had raised on their Estates, were as fore-runners and presages of their approaching ruine, Treated with the King of *Swede* to come to the relief of their dying Liberty, and to make use of the Conjuncture of the disarming of *Wallesthein*, and of the Licensing of his Troops, who demanded but safe retrait and protection against the Commissions which were t'issue t'enquire of the Spoils his Soldiers had committed upon the Lands of th' Empire. And so the Catholique Princes breathed away the fear th'House of *Austria* gave them, and were assaulted with a greater and more dangerous fear, raised from the *Swedish* Victories. But if that Evil had not preceded, the Remedy had not followed; And if the Designs of that

Book II.

Book II. House had been moderate; th' Arms of that Prince had never entred into *Germany*, and that House had not tried the same Lot it made others suffer.

As to the League made between the King of *Swede*, and the Protestants who called him to their Relief, It cannot truly be said, that the King of *Swede* was one of the great Powers, whereof we speak, if they are considered by the fertility and riches of their Country, By the Multitude of their Subjects, and by other Advantages, which are rather fastned to the Domination, than to the Person of Princes. But this Prince had such admirable Conditions in his Person, and such a collection of natural and acquired Virtues, that he quickly put himself into the posture of being that great Power, whereunto the Powers of the League were subaltern and dependent. At first they cast their eyes upon him through Jealousie had of their Countrymen, and gave not th' Honour t' one of their Nation, but made the King of *Swede* chief of the *League*; Or they thought, it may be, none of courage and understanding enough to bear the weight of that War; And judged also, That the King of *Swede* being in some sort under their pay, they might dispose of him as they pleased, and might retain him justly to the necessary Considerations, for the suppressing of th' Ambitious Designs of th' Emperour, and to restore to th' Empire its lost Peace, and its antient Privileges. But they were not well advised; for that Prince was so brave, and so full of courage, that he could not act such a person; And as a Torrent is not to be stopped at pleasure; which the force of dissolved Snows forceth from a Mountain, nor a great Fire easily put out, which the Wind blows, and is fastned t' a great quantity of combustible Matters; So this Prince rendred himself so powerful and so formidable, by the Victories which crowded upon him; For his Conquests were th' Adamants which drew others unto them; that many of the Confederates before his death had him in great jealousie. But let's leave there those Apprehensions, the suspition of an Evil which did not happen, to speak of that which concerns us. 'Tis easie to judge by what hath been said, That the League which is now on foot between us and our Confederates, hath all necessary Conditions for Continuation of the War, so long as it may be useful, and to make the Peace that must determine it Sacred and Inviolable. This great Power, whereof it hath been spoken, is there to be found, which hath not onely the right of Birth before all other Powers of *Christendom*, by th' Antiquity of its Original, but hath it also by the greatness of its Forces, and by 'n abundance of Mony and Men, which resembles not to the Waters of Cisterns, which are easily drawn off, but to them that issue from living Springs, which refresh and renew themselves as they run off. This Truth is so certain, and of an Experience so general and so confirmed, that to b' ignorant of it is not to be of the world, or to know any thing of what passeth in it. 'Tis, not to know what w' have done in *Italy* in favour of the Duke of *Mantoua*; And not t' have understood, that notwithstanding the fearful difficulties

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entries which accompani'd that War; The Desolation which the Plague and Famine had made in our Armies, and the Disgraces happned t' our Allies by their ill fortune, or by their fault; We forced *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Savoy* associated, to restore what they had usurped, and to re-establish the Duke of *Mantoua* and the *Grisons* in their Estates and Garisons; Tis to b' ignorant what the King did for the *Swedish* Party, and for his Confederates, since the Battel of *Nortlingben*; What he daily doth in *Germany*, in the *Low-Countries*, in *Italy*, and in *Spain*; The Money and Men which he sent thither, and the number of his Armies by Sea and by Land, which filled our Enemies with fear, and all *Europe* with astonishment. Book II.

As to the second Condition, The Moderation of Desires, and that fair Temperance, which puts a Bridle into the mouth of Ambition, and ties up Courage, which th' *Heroes* are more troubled t' observe, than to defeat Armies, and to tame Monsters; It cannot also be denied, that tis the more admirable in the Kings Soul, that having all the Lights which enlighten the Cabinet, and all Qualities that are active in the Field, He hath besides these, the Forces of a great Kingdom to put them in Motion; He hath all that's necessary for Invading, and for Usurping, if he did not believe, That 'tis more Magnanimous and more Glorious, to conserve and to defend; Somewhat more divine t' exercise Justice, than to make Conquests.

I have sowed so many proofs of this Truth in so many places of this Book, that I conceive it a superfluous thing to repeat them, and repoint to the eye of the Reader the same Figures. However, I do beseech him to remember, that in the long and tragical actions, which vex *Christendom*, the King never began t' any person, and that he stirred not, nor engaged, but to relieve his Friends, which were oppressed, and t' abate the Designs which would have consumed their Estates. That he never took Arms till he had tried the ways of sweetness, and of good Endeavours; That before he passed th' *Alps* for the delivery of *Casal*, which *Gonsales* had besieged, he sent into *Spain*; He caused Endeavours to b' used at *Vienna*; He prevailed with the Pope t' interpose his Authority t' oblige the *Spaniards* to retire, and with honour, their Arms from *Montferrat*; As before the beginning of the War he commanded a Treaty with the Duke of *Savoy* by several Agents, and with most advantagious Offers, that could be desired, if he could admit of equitable ones, to compose civilly the differences h' had with the Duke of *Mantoua*; And after h' had raised the Siege of *Casal* in forcing th' *Alps*, and had given peace to the *Spaniards*, which was so necessary for them, He sent to *Vienna* t' hinder them from being perjured, and to divert the Seeds of a second War, in causing to be delivered to the Duke of *Mantoua* th' Investitures promised by the Peace of *Suza*.

As to *Germany*, all the world knows that the King did not for present interpose in the Troubles that have vexed them, but t' appease them; And that in the Quarel of th' Emperour and the Count *Palatine* for the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, he sent a famous Embassage to th' In-

Book II. th'Interessed Princes to determine it friendly, and caused a Peace to be concluded at *Ulms*, as hath been already laid, which re-established th'Affairs of th'Empire in the Conditions they ought to be, and in the Temper, if it had been observed, which is assigned them by their Constitutions. Since that time th'Affairs of th'Empire being raised to a prodigious Success, and the King observing, that the Treaties of *Ratisbon* and of *Cairasque* had not shut up all the Winds, which might trouble the third time the Tranquillity of *Italy*, and carry the Storm further, if th'House of *Austria* had nothing to do in *Germany*. He caused a Treaty to be made with the King of *Swede*, whom the Protestants had called into *Germany*, and furnished him with some Money, to give him the better means to give Employment and Exercise to that House, that it might no longer think of giving trouble t'his Allies, nor t' himself in his Kingdom. To conclude, h'had never declared a War to *Spain*, if the *Spaniard* had not commanded th'Elector of *Treves* to be taken away, wh' had put himself into the King's protection, and had provided for his safety by his Intervention.

In the second place, t'assure the world that the King's Arms are not mercenary, nor moved by the spirit of Particular Interest, let the last Treaty be remembred which he made with the Duke of *Cleves*, and the generosity, wherewith he renounced, in favour of the Duke, one of the Justest Conquests which could arise from the right of War. Be't remembred, how freely h' abandoned by the Treaty of *Cairasque* almost all *Savoy*, and a part of *Piedmont*, which h' had lawfully gained, to cause *Mantoua* to be rendred, which was but a coloured Usurpation, and the Country of the *Grisons*, which was an Usurpation without colour. That if it appears the King had some Garisons of th'Empire in his hands, the number whereof is very small, or some others of his Allies in *Italy*, It must be considered, that 'tis onely to keep them for the Owners, wh' are not able to defend them, which to the King is matter onely of great Expence; or to free his Frontiers from the Jealousie they would receive from them, if they fell into th'hands of his Enemies; or to serve for a Retrait or safety t'his Armies, when they're obliged to march far for the good of the common Cause; Or lastly, to sacrifize them to the good of the same Cause, and to the re-establishment of his stript Friends in the Treaty of a General Peace.

That if *Pignerol* remain in the King's power after the Wars of *Italy*, which have preceded the Peace of *Cairasque*; And if that place seems to be the recompense of so many thousands of the Kings dead Subjects, and of so many millions of Money, spent for the Liberty of that Country; 'Tis a thing, in my opinion, which cannot reasonably be reproached unto him, nor envied; since he doth not keep it as a Conquest, but as an Acquisition, and that he hath bought it with the good-will of him, wh' had power to sell it; since it was not done so much to serve for Rampart t'his Kingdom, and to secure the Frontiers, as t'have a free Entry int' *Italy*, and to make the more haste to its Relief, when it should b'assaulted. Let the Disinterest and

Magnanimity

Magnanimity be considered, which have appeared in all the Treaties on the Kings part made in *Germany*, since that which *Sir* of *Charnasé* made at *Beerwalde*; And that which *Sir* of *Avaux* renewed the last year at *Hambrough*. Let the sweetness and equity of the Conditions be considered, wherewith he received into protection th'Elector of *Treves*, as may be seen in the Treaties made with him by the *Sirs* of St. *Chaumont* and of *Saludie*; Let the cares had of the *Swedish* Interest be considered, and th'effective and real Acknowledgments which the *Swedish* King always exhorted His Confederates to pay the King, as may be justifi'd by the Orations which *Sir* of *Feuquieres* made to th'Assembly of *Hailbrun* and *Franckford*. Let Consequences at last be drawn out of the like Actions from the Kings Promises to the Princes of *Italy*, concerning the places h'holds in *Piedmont*, and which he confirms in this manner, in the third Article of the Treaty he made with *Sirs* the Princes of *Savoy*. *That the King newly ratifies the Declarations which have been made by his Ambassadors in divers Occasions, and by the Letters his Majesty hath written to the Pope, and to the Republique of* Venice, *upon the restitution of the Places which his Majesty holds in* Piedmont, *since the death of the late* Sir Victor *of* Amedeé; *Provided, that such Places as are held by the* Spaniards *his Enemies, be reciprocally restored, and that* Sir *the Duke of* Savoy *remain certainly the Master of them, under the Tuition and Regency of Madame.* Let the consequence of this, I say, be taken into consideration, and it will appear, that our Confederates may take a full and entire confidence in this Conduct; And that the *Counsellour* of th'*Elector* of *Mayence*, above all question a very able Man, in the Dyet held some months past at *Mayence*, believing to decipher the Kings Designs t'establish himself in *Germany*, deviated from the Truth, though it was by way of probability, and that he discovered effectively the Means, wherewith he might do it, if he had had the Will.

Book II.

Before this Discourse b'ended, the *Reader* is to b' advised, That I had finished two Treaties which are of the Subject I handle in these two Books; Th'one of the Nature of Equivocations; Th'other, of the force of Opinions, which are of great importance for Ministers of State to know. But insomuch that this Book is already too long, and that these two Treaties may enter commodiously into the Third Part, I have believed it was most convenient to place them there.

End of the Second Book.

OF

The pretended Monarchy OF *Th' Houſe of* AUSTRIA.

Third BOOK.

Firſt Diſcourſe.

That the true Exerciſe of the Magnanimity of a Prince Conſiſts in Securing his Countrey from Civil Wars, and in Diverting of Forein Wars; That the King hath Admirably Proſpered in theſe two Things.

'TIs certain, That the true exerciſe of the Magnanimity of a Prince, and the Juſt handling of his Arms, Conſiſts onely in theſe two things, Th' one, in quieting of his Countrey, when it is agitated, and in Cutting up the Roots, and ſtopping of the Springs of the Troubles, which may there ariſe; Th'other in defeating th' Enterprizes, which ſtrangers may ſet on foot againſt him, or his Allies, and in Confining Ambition, within the Bounds of Juſtice: When He hath gained theſe two Ends, and that theſe great Concluſions have proſpered with him; He may ſay, that nothing is wanting to his glory; That his Life hath nothing more in deſire to become th'Example of Princes and th'Admiration of the people; And ſuch a proſperity is th'ultimate proof of the Love of Heaven, and the moſt wonderful effect that Virtue can produce.

'Tis not truly to be denied, but that the Kings Reign is very obſervable

servable by these two wonders; That h' hath effaced the glory of the faireſt precedent Reigns, and hath not left to ſubſequent Generations, Matter for Equality, nor any thing to Mow, the whole Crop being carried away; As to the firſt point, which reſpects th'inſide of the Countrey, and th'obedience which Subjects owe their Prince, who knows not that it was ſo looſe amongſt us, That very often it was entirely divolved into th' *Hugonots*, and that it was not rendred ſo Pure or ſo Neat, as it ought t' have been, from the greateſt part of Catholiques? *France* was a horrid Spectacle, and a Monſtrous Confuſion; for in the midſt of the State, another State was to be ſeen, where a confirmed Faction did Reign, which was maintained at the Charges of the Prince, and became Rich by his Wealth; To whom leaving places of Security, It was a Tacit Declaration to the world, that their faith, which ought to b' as firm and Immoveable, as the Poles of Heaven, and Foundations of th'Earth, was doubted and ſuſpected; Where there was n' other diſcourſe than of Aſſemblies, of Circles, of Abreges of Circles, of Chiefs of Parties, and of the like Denominations of ill Augury, which were th' Evidences of a preſent and future revolt. How juſt a thing then, and how neceſſary was it, that ſuch a Faction ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and that they wh' had a common Birth, and drew the ſame Air, and reſted under the cares of the ſame Prince, and under the Protection of the ſame Laws, ſhould be reduced t'equal Subjection, and Pay a common Obedience to the Power that Protected them? It Queſtion be made of this, Let the ſame Faction now Live, and the ſame Inſurrections and Violences Aſſault us. Book III.

But as this was very Juſt, ſo it was very Difficult; And if it were th'Effect of an ordinary Addreſs, and of a Mean force to deſtroy ſo bold and opinionate a Rebellion, and to Remit to their Natural places, the parts torn from their Head and from the reſt of the Body, as were ſome of this Nation; *Philip the ſecond* and his Succeſſors have made Experiment of it, in the Defection of the *Low Countreys*. And truly a Party, as that of th' *Hugonots*, Rooted in ſo many places of this Kingdome; Animated to its Defence by Religion, the moſt Violent and undaunted Motive that can provoke the Spirit of Man; Proud and fierce, not only by the Conſideration of Effective Advantages, and preſent Forces, but alſo by the Memory of the Loſſes from which it was relieved, and of the Weakneſſe from which it was Reſtored; A Party, I ſay, ſuch as that, ſtrengthned with three hundred places, whereof ſome were very ſtrong; Aided by many Chiefs of Repute and Merit, and ſupported by a great Forein Power, was viſibly Invincible.

In effect, It could not have been overcome, but by ſuch a Warlike Prince as ours, wh' had the Courage t'undertake all that was not Impoſſible, if it was neceſſary; The Prudence to Conduct that great Deſign, and to diſunite them, whom it head not been ſafe t have Aſſaulted, Joyned and united; T'apply gentl Remedies, where violent

Book III. lent had been dangerous, and to Move by perſwaſion and Addreſſe, where it was difficult to prevail by force, and Conſtraint ; wh' had reſolution to force the buſineſſe to the Wall, and not to ſtop on th' Half way, as it had been often done, nor to retire by reaſon of the length of Time, or Difficulty of the Work, nor for the ſecret Contradictions of his Counſellors, nor for th'open Oppoſitions his Enemies would make him, nor for the Reſiſtance He might Encounter in th' Elements, nor for the contrary Alterations, the ſtarrs might raiſe againſt Him; Wh' had a ſtrong Piety t' attract the favour of Heaven upon his Enterprizes, and t'Invite them to deſcend upon his Armies, without which, all the powers of Men are Impotent, and all their Deſigns Barren. To declare now, what Fruits we 've gathered from the Ruine of this Party, and what the benefit of them ſhall be, which are yet unripe, and cannot long be ripening. No perſon can truly doubt, but that the firſt fruits are very great, unleſs it be thought a ſmall thing, That the King hath recovered this Party to the Soveraignty, which his Father could not leave him, and his Predeceſſors had loſt; That He is become Maſter of all his Subjects, and Poſſeſſor of all his Kingdome; That his Countrey, which diviſion rendred weak and open to many Injuries, hath reaſſumed its forces, and repaired its breaches, by th' Union and Concord of its Inhabitants; That the moſt culpable have no places of Refuge for their faults, nor the moſt diſcontented any Retrait, where they may Meditate and form Rebellions in ſafety; That by this, the King, in Imitation of God, hath drawn Good from Evill, and ſo ſtrongly reunited them t' his ſervice who had given him Troubles, that they 've ſince laboured profitably in his Deſigns, and Aided Joyntly with the reſt of his Subjects to gain him Victories, and to prepare Triumphs for him ; That by this General and profound peace, which h' hath eſtabliſhed in his Kingdome, H' hath been more ſafe and free to march abroad, to quench the fire that burnt his Allies, and to break th' Irons were forged for *Italy*, and for *Germany*.

As to the good, which the future Time doth provide for us, as one of th' Happy Conſequences of the ſuppreſſion of th' *Hugonot* party, We cannot indeed Reliſh it ſufficiently, whilſt the Miſeries of the Want do afflict us, and Peace onely can make us truly ſenſible of it. 'Tis then we ſhall know by Experience that the King hath no otherwiſe done in the Levy of Moneys, and in the ſubventions, which the neceſſity of his Affairs forced him to draw from his people, but as a good Father of a Family, who doth not demoliſh any part of his Houſe, but to make it better than it was, and of a fairer Structure ; The bounties wherewith he deſires, though to this day he cannot perform it, to gratifie his Subjects, Reſemble to certain Rivers, which being hid for ſome time in th'Earth, break not out, but never to return, and to Run alwaies upon its ſurface. The time of this favourable Change, and of this profitable Revolution, is very near ; The Clemency of God is ready to diſarm his Juſtice, and to take out of

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her hands the Flayl wherewith h' hath beaten us for so many years. Book III.
All the causes of our Expence cease with the War; Peace, which never comes into the World, but Crowned with Abundance, and hands full of Riches, will issue shortly from the midst of this Confusion, and from the Chaos, wherein *Christendome* is plunged. It shall not be a Peace of Glass, as many others which have been seen, but a Peace of Diamond, which shall have beauty and solidity; And the foundations, which the King makes and layes in all places, shall be so deep and large, so entire and sound, that of a long time, a fault is not to be feared.

It hath not failed truly on this part, but that It had been Accomplished; And the Moneys He hath advanced, and the things h' hath quitted upon that Accompt are a sufficient Evidence to *Christendome*, that nothing is so dear to him as the Repose of it. The passion h' hath for Peace, will Triumph at last over th' Inclination of th' House of *Austria* for War: Though it cannot be stronger or more obstinate than it hath of late appeared; 'Tis not nevertheless Invincible, and the great Engine that susteined it, whose wheel was even in Motion in this Countrey, being stopped, and th' Hopes, which do yet Nourish and give it a little Life, which is *Germany*, being of short Continuance, It must of Necessity shortly fall and be destroyed. And though the King had Power and Means t' overcome, and to make more Conquests than that House hath t' Engage and Lose; He never had a greater desire to lay down Arms than at this time, and th' Higher he is in Prosperity, the Readier to descend for the General Good, and the stronger and more Impetuous the Current is of his Victories, the more he 's disposed to stop it for publique benefit. By virtue of his Magnanimity, he will do more than all the forces of his Enemies can constrain him to do, and will render Generously, what will b' Impossible to take from him. Nevertheless t' induce the *German* Circles to furnish them with Money to Compel us t' hearken to Peace, whereunto by their Report w' are adverse, they fail not to publish in all places, That the Treaty of *Hamborough* was not staid by them, nor the Peace of *Christendome*. But the contrary is so fully declared in *Germany*, The King of *Denmark* hath so cleerly understood it, and th' Ambassadours of Neutral Princes Resident in the Court of the King of *Hungary*, have expressed it in such certain and positive Tearms, that there's not a Person, wh' hath not discovered the Deceit and the Design.

As to the second point; 'tis certainly much advanced, if not effected, and all their Apparences will prove false; for the King by th' Aids of his Confederates, will destroy in the Souls of the Princes of th' House of *Austria*, and especially in that of the *Spaniards* where its principal Seat is, the Design of th' Universal Monarchy, whereof they 're Accused, and that Eminent Crime imputed to them, which hath been the Spring of so many Troubles and Disorders. And 'tis that, which will make the Reign of the King, Remarkable and Glo-

Book III. rious above the Reigns of all his Predeceſſors, and will be the Cauſe, that *Chriſtendome* have an Immortal Obligation to him for hindering that Proud *Houſe*, that had Devoured it in Thought, t' Advance one pace towards that End, or to take any Meaſure thereof that hath not been Broken. But that no Perſon may ſuppoſe that I d' Offer at this by Chance, and that ſpeaking of the deſign of this pretended Monarchy, I make a Monſter of my Self in the Conteſt; I am reſolved here to Lay out ſome Pieces, and to give you a Part of the Platform framed in *Spain*, as well as it hath been Underſtood; others may make up what ſhall be wanting to Compleat the Diſcovery, and Finiſh the Painting, whereof you ſhall receive now only the firſt Draught. I will take this Deſign from its firſt Original, and from the moſt Concealed Spring, and Continue it to the Troubles of *Bohemia*, where it appeared moſt Evidently, and broke out with greater Light, Noiſe, and Violence, than it had done before; for tis true, That the firſt Motion of Defection or Revolt, call it what you pleaſe, raiſed in the Minds of the *Bohemians* againſt th' Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the firſt Thoughts they had to withdraw themſelves from that Power, and to ſubmit t' another Yoak, proceeded from the fear they had to fall in Time under the *Spaniſh* Domination. The Love of Liberty, wherewith the Northern people are more taken than any people of the World, made them Apprehend the Death of their Liberty, wounded in many places by a Power, which alwayes holds Strangers by ſuch Charms, as they cannot break; And is never Confident of their Faith, but by th' Impotency wherein they are Caſt, not to Rebell.

On th' other ſide, the Zeal of Religion, which is equally Violent, whether Good or Bad, in all them that have it, ſuffered them not to make a Repreſentation of that ſevere Tribunal without horrour and deſpair, which in permitting them but one Religion, hath Sword and Fire to Root up and to Deſtroy all others. From theſe two undaunted Paſſions did Grow and Bud, as the Fruits of that Seed, and the Bows of that Tree, that memorable Riſing, which they made againſt th' Emperour *Ferdinand*, and their fatal Election to the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, which they fixed in the Perſon of *Frederick Count Palatine*. It ſhall be made t' appear at th' End of this Book by Authentique proofs, That this Judgement of the *Bohemians* was not Vain, nor their fear Panique; And that the *Spaniards* had of a long time forged that Project, That they did daily lay the Foundations, and brought Materials to Continue it, and to Cheriſh it to the Rearing. As to what is of the ſequel of this Defection, which is not yet Finiſhed, and the Troubles it hath cauſed in *Europe*, which are not yet Ceaſed, It hath been ſpoken of in many places of this Work, and it ſhall more fully be ſpoken of in the Third Part, where I hope to make 't appear, That whether th' Hiſtory b' Ancient or Modern, Theres not a Mapp to be found, where more

more Rapid and more changeable Passions are to be seen from Men, more suddain and unexpected Stroaks from Fortune, and more famous Occurrences, and of greater Instruction for Princes than those that hapned in th' Affairs of *Germany*. Book III.

Before th' handling of this important Matter, and Entring into so fair a Field, I cannot hold from Speaking a few Words of the Deportments of a part of them whom th' House of *Austria* imploy to make War, and of the wayes they take t' assure their Conquests. These men then whom we 've often in hand, and from whom w' have been sometimes Troubled to defend our Frontiers, Are a certain race of Men, in whom the Vicinity and Commerce of the *Turks*, whereof their Troops are made up, have made lose all Sense of Humanity, and of Religion; And that th' Impunity of their Crimes, which they received instead of Pay, had begot an Invincible habit in th' Exercise of all manner of Cruelties, and in Committing all sorts of Sacrileges. The Laws of Civilized War, which the *Marshall* of *Brisae* rendred heretofore so famous in *Italy*, and which were more Indulgent and Favourable to th' Enemies Country, than the Laws that are now Executed in a Friends Country, are to them a Subject, whereof they 've not so much as heard; They never enter int' a Country, but the Sword in one hand, and Torch in th' other; They make the Fire to Consume, what the Sword cannot Destroy; They spare Sacred things no more than Profane; The Religious Women, and such as are not, are th' Equal Object of their Brutality; And their Pleasure would not be Compleat, if Murder did not succeed Rape; And if after Satisfaction given to what is most Indocile, and most Disordered in the Concupiscible part, they did not surfeit also with horrible Punishments, and by barbarous Deaths, of what is most Inhuman and most Savage in th' Irascible part: I say nothing, but what Experience confirms, and whereof *Lorrain* and other Countries have seen th' Examples, wh' are at this day th' Astonishment of all Nations, and for the future shall be the Reproach of our Age.

As to them, in whose favour these Tragical and sad Conquests are made, 'Tis certain, That if they beat down or destroy any thing of a Country, 'Tis so far from being their Design, as 'tis of a Lawfull Prince, to Repair the Ruins to his Power, and to Re-build in a more Magnificent and Stately manner than it was before, That they would lay it flat to the Foot and Earth; That if they could, they would pull up Foundations; That they would plow up th' Earth, and sow Salt in it; That no Impressions of their first Government might be seen, nor one single Draught of its Ancient form; And their Method t' Establish themselves, and to give Root to their Domination, is to take off all high Heads, till none are left, but what are Humble and Low; And t' Esteem the Courage, and th' Understanding of th' Inhabitants, for Treasonable Crimes, and t' hold all them Rebells, wh' have Qualities capable of Rebellion;

To

Book III. To Destroy or to Transport them into other Countries, where they shall raise no Fears, and where they shall not provoke so tender a Jealousie, and so delicate a Distrust as theirs. And insomuch, that they well know, that many Generations must pass, and many Ages slide away, before the Conquered people forgetting their first Domination under which they Lived, b' Accustomed to the New, and that forced Obedience, and such as is not in their power to Refuse, agrees better with their Proud and Imperious Humour, than Voluntary Obedience, which may be lost, as often as Subjects change their Affections, and gain New Masters; They secure them by Garrisons and Colonies, and by the Power of Governments and Magistrates, which they put into th' Hands of their Country-men, with Exclusion to strangers, and by that means are Punished for the Vices of their Birth, and make Repentance for Sins, whereof they are not Guilty.

'Tis a Picture, whose Touches are not from my Pencil or Fancy, but which hath been borrowed from their Relations, and from their Histories, and whereof *Italy*, th' *Indies*, and other Countries are yet the True and Indubitable Originals. And 'tis the Desolation the King would prevent, before it grow Dangerous, and bear even upon the Heart of his Affairs; 'Tis the Tempest that he would allay before it break forth; 'Tis the true cause of the Relief, he requires from his People, and the Reason that compells him to set on foot that hard and sad Law of Conservation, which permits the Diversion and Aversion of the greater, by the lesser Evils.

Second Discourse.

Of the Spring of the Design of the pretented Monarchy of th' House of Austria: *some Advantages, which th' Imperial Dignity brings with it above th' other Secular Dignities of* Christendome.

Ferdinand of *Arragon*, one of the Greatest Politicians of his Time, and who had alwayes Vaster Thoughts than Power, was the Person that began to Conceive the design of the Monarchy hath been spoken of, and did lay the first Foundation, in giving in Marriage his Daughter and Heir, *Jane*, to th' Arch-Duke *Philip*, Son of *Maximilian* th' *Emperour*. His Marriage with *Isabella* of *Castile*, had United, and as it were Grafted int' his House all the Countries of *Spain*, with Exception to the Kingdome of *Granada*, whereof after a Ten years War, and by the Courage of *Ferrant* of *Gonsalve*, h' became Master, and carried away the Sirname of Catholique, which he hath Left t' his Posterity. The same Success in Arms, and the Vertue of the same Captain gained him from us the Kingdome of *Naples*, recovered from the Kings of *Naples* his Kinsmen;

Kinsmen; And rejoyned in his Person, to the part w' had allowed him, what w' had by Conquest kept for our selves. Th' Interdict, which *Julius the Second* thundered against *Henry King of Navarre* our Ally, gave him Colour, and Furnished him with a pretence t' usurp that Kingdome. Hazard rather than Reason, or t' Express it better, a secret disposition of Divine Providence, which inclines sometimes t' its Ends, above the Reasons of Men, and contrary to th' Appearance of Things, made him hearken to the Proposals of *Christopher Columna*, for the discovery of the *West-Indies*, and Exposed unt' him the benefits of the Richest Mines of th' Earth, and th' Abundance of the longest Labour of the Sun, since it hath Shined. So that his Daughter brought Grea. Countries, and Fair Hopes to th' Arch-Duke her Husband, wh' Enjoyed from his Mother, the Low-Countries, and the County of *Bourgogna*, above what he was t' Enjoy from his Father, which was not small or Inconsiderable in *Germany*. Book III.

The Conjunction then of th' Heat and Courage of *Germany*, to the Driness and Prudence of *Spain*, being made, and so many different Countries Collected in one *House*, As so many Arms Expatiated into diverse places, to surround and straighten the rest of *Christendome*, He laid it for a Ground and Principle of the Doctrine he left t' his Posterity, to retain alwayes th' Empire in their Jurisdiction; As the Basis that ought to bear the greatness of their Ambition, and as the Center, where all the Countries, whereof the Conquest was intended, ought to Unite to make the Circle of th' Absolute Monarchy. This was the first Idæa of this great Design, and the Bud from whence he discovered himself; This was the fore-cast of *Ferdinand*, and his sweetest Hopes. And though th' Ambition of his Son-in-Law gave him much personal Trouble, and was the Disturbance of his Rest, and Torment of his Age; it might b' Endured with the same sense, That *Agrippina* Mother of *Nero*, did th' Advice of an Astronomer, who threatned with the Sad and Tragical Entertainment her Son would give her if he came to th' Empire, Answered; *Let me Dye, provided that he may Reign.*

Lets make a Halt here, that shall not be unprofitable, and Consider before we go on, what the Possession of th' Empire may Contribute to the design of the Monarchy. 'Tis certain, that as, amongst the secular Dignities of *Christendome*, There's none so High, or whose Light shines so Lively as th' Imperial; It hath also Extraordinary Means to become great, or to draw where it please, Unjustly or Justly, all the Countries that depend upon it; And th' House of *Austria* 'th made it appear, since *Charls* the fifth was Elected to that Dignity, and had Fortified the Powers of th' Empire by the Conjunction of so many gathered or usurped Countries. The most remarkable Means, and which have made most Noise, whereof he and his Successors have made Advantage, or Endeavoured it t' Extend their Greatness under the shadow of that Dignity, are these.

The

Book III. The first is, the Leagues which they 've made or found in *Germany*, and which they 've ever had th' Addresse to fit to their Interests under other Pretences, and to Convert them to their particular Ends under colour of Searching and of Pursuing the good of their Confederates. This Invention hath been one of the Rarest and Subtilest Stratagems of their Policy; And they 've scarce ever moved any Wheel that hath produced such great Success; That had so present a Benefit; That hath so long Acted, and so Insensibly as this. By this means they 've disposed of Forces that did not belong to them, as of their own; And having not the Fountain in their Power; The Countries of their Friends; They 've had nevertheless, the Commodity and use of the Stream, That's to say, of their Powers. All the World well knows how much time they Imployed t' Invade and Obstruct the League of *Snaubē*, which was not Setled, as hath been observed, but to prevent th' Invasions that were in preparation, and to repair the Violences that were Acted in th' Empire. And th' History instructs us sufficiently of the Troubles *Sir* of *Langey* had, to break the Charm that Bound the Members of that League; To give them a Clear sight of it, and to make them Understand that what was prepared for a Remedy, was become their Poyson, in th' hands of th' Emperour *Charls*, and of *Ferdinand* his Brother; so great a Truth it is, That *France* hath alwayes been the Providential Buckler of *Germany*, and th' Appointed Rampar, to stop the Motions of them, wh' undertake upon its Liberty.

'Tis also a Thing sufficiently known in History, and whereof w' have made Mention in the last Discourse of the second Book, That if th' Emperour had not found Means to form in *Italy* and in *Germany* a Counter-League t' oppose that of *Smalchalde*, where all the Protestants almost of the North had united to strip him of his Powers; It had Reduced him to his Shirt; Degraded him from th' Empire, and made the *Rodomontada* of the Duke of *Alva* ridiculous; who answered him, That to describe the Greatness of Forces, and the Number of Powers united against his Master, said, That the *Duke* of *Saxe*, The *Lantgrave* of *Hess*, The *King* of *Denmark*, and of *Swede*, &c. were of the party; That the *King* of *Spain*, and of *Naples*, th' *Arch-Duke* of *Austria*, and the *Count* of *Tirrol*, the *Duke* of *Milan*, and the *Lord* of the *Low-Countries*, were entred int' a League, which his Master would oppose to the Multitude and Forces of th' united Powers. But by the Power of that League, he suppressed th' other; forced the Gates of the Mutinous Cities to be opened, and might, it may be, have finished his Design, which hath been since so often and unprofitably Attempted, The Reduction of all *Germany*, if he had not been hindered from other places, as hath been related in the precedent Discourse.

I will not now Speak of it, because I have amply spoken in the second Book of that League, which in *Germany* is called Catholique;

'Tis

'Tis true, That never any League was made of greater Importance; Book III.
or of a more regular or stronger Institution for th' interests of th' House of *Austria*. And though it had only for Foundation, and pretence of it's Establishment, the defence of Religion against the Threatning of the Protestants; 'Tis certain, that it hath not Laboured, or Lent its Forces to this Time, but to relieve the Ruinous Affairs of th' Emperour; And to make his Succes the more Glorious, and his Power the more Fearfull. Another Expedient which the Possession of th' Empire hath furnished to th' House of *Austria*, t' enable it t' undertake without Punishment upon other Christian Princes, and to make the preparations of their Enterprizes without Trouble and Allowance of Jealousie to their Enemies, hath been the special Obligation th' Empire imposeth upon *Germany* to make War to the *Turk*, and the particular Personage, which th' Emperour sustains of Adversary to that great Enemy of the Faithfull. And nevertheless, how often *Charls* the fifth raised Great Forces, and Commanded *Germany* to do the Like under that pretence; And how often hath he deceived the World, and given the *Germans* the Dog t' hold, in Turning his Arms against *France*, or to th' Oppression of some of our Allies? As it hapned to the Duke of *Gueldres*; And when we made shew of raising Men at the Noise of those preparations; when we put our selves into some Posture to secure our selves against the Storm that Threatned us; when we would have used some Precaution to give a Necessary security; Then the Declarations and Invectives were busie; Then their Cartells and Manifests were published; That the Conclaves and Dyets were Troubled with the Complaints they made against our Kings, and th' Accusations wherewith they did Charge them, in diverting them from an Holy War, and by th' Intelligence they held, as they would have it, with the *Turk*, to the prejudice of *Christendome*, and the Princes of it; so that by th' Artifices and Practices of th' Emperour, we were reduced to that sad Condition, and to that hard Necessity, either to Suffer our selves to be surprized in th' Ill of the Time that was framed; as it once hapned to *Francis* the first; or t' hazard the blame of Insensibility and Coldness for Religion, if we prepared not some Shelter and some Recrute to secure us; as it hapned t' *Henry the Second*.

I will say, upon this Occasion, and for the Direction of the Reader; That the Successors of *Charls* have not lost by his Example, and that they 've been most Worthy Imitators of so good a Master. *Barbary* hath been often the Visible Subject of th' Armies they have Raised, and of the Naval Forces they 've sent against *France*; 'Tis an Artifice, which seems Natural and Infused into the Blood of *Spain*. And Examples have been seen in the past Ages; And in Times, when Deceits did not pass for Prudence, and when there was Ordinarily in the World, Faith that was pure, and sincerity, that was not Sophisticated.

Book III.

Behold, a Remarkable passage; After that *Peter* the third King of *Arragon* had lost *Sicily*, and that w' had taken that fair Island from him, which was not less dear t' him than the Kingdome of *Spain*; As he was a Great Master in th' Art of Dissimulation, He presently made shew of Consolation in his Loss, and though his Heart bled inwardly, He made no shew of Grief, and discovered no Thoughts of repair but on the *Barbarian* Coast. Upon so specious a Report, which he scattered in all places, and plausible Impression for t' Entertain other Christian Princes; H' obliged some of them, and amongst them was St. *Lewis*, t' aid him with Money, to provide Ships, and to make ready a Naval Army, which h' intended for so Holy an Expedition. That good Prince, who knew not how to Reign but for the Glory of God, and on whom the Crown he wear, had weighed too much, if Charity had not supported it, failed not t' assist so pious an Enterprize, and was easily surprized by so subtil a Device, and by so delicate a Bait. But this Army which ought t' have Conquered *Afrique*, and put to the Sword th' Infidells of that Country, had n' other Object than the Ruine of the *French*, that were in *Sicily*, and by a Supercery without Example, and by a Sea of split Blood, not to be paralel'd, Commanded those infamous *Vespers*, which since have been called *Sicilian Vespers*. 'Tis not, to speak Clearly of this Affair, That it was a Crime in *Peter*, if there had been no other Thing in it than to conceal a Design that could not have prospered but by silence, or that th' Answer he made to *Martin* the fourth, deserved not Commendation, who sent to Demand of him, For what place that great preparation and powerfull Fleet was intended; *That if his Shirt knew what he had in his heart, He would burn it at that instant.* Princes truly are not obliged to make known their Secrets t' other Princes, and to give Account of all their Actions to them that would Demand it. But theirs no Colour nor Art, that can Disguise or Sweeten the breach of Faith in *Peter*, and that black proceeding, which made him Divert the Money which St. *Lewis* had given to make War against th' Infidels, to th' Oppression of the Christians. And to Convert a Matter ordained to an Holy use, to the Massacre and Slaughter of *Lewis* his Subjects. What I shall Infer from these Examples, and from many others of the same Nature, which th' House of *Austria* may abundantly Furnish, is; That there's too great a Facility, and too stupid a Disposition in the Souls of many Persons, and particularly in the Souls of them, wh' are inflamed with Devotion, and make profession of a Life, more reformed than that of other Men, To believe all things, which the Confederates and Agents of th' House of *Austria* publish in favour of its Piety; That the Zeal which seems to burn there for Religion, is sometimes Nothing else but a fire in Picture, and a Zeal in shew; And that the fair Apparence which dazels so many mens Eyes, resembles the Colours of the Bow in Heaven, which are but an Illusion and a Deceit for th' Eyes of silly Persons.

That

That particular Obligation, which the Christian Emperours have t'oppose the *Turks* Armies, and to be the Rampar of *Christendome* on *Hungary* side, provides for them also a special power, which other Princes have not, in making of Leagues, and t' ingage other Princes when 'tis necessary t' Arm against th' Immortal Enemy of their Religion and Countries. Book III.

Third Discourse.

Other Advantages that attend upon th' Imperial Dignity above the Secular Dignities of Christendome.

A Third Expedient, which th'Empire doth furnish their Emperours withall, t' advance, and promote their Affairs in distributing of favours, or in raising of Troubles, is the power, be it lawfull or usurped, they have from all time assumed to the Convocation and Assembly of œcumenique Councils. There's no question, that being the most exalted Heads of the Secular Body of *Christendome*, or by reason of some particular Right annexed to their Dignity (If any hath been annexed) But that they 'nterpose with more Authority and Awe than other Princes in those great and Important Assemblies; And especially in these last Ages, where it hath been of Necessity to Treat of Temporal as of Ecclesiastical affairs, In regard of th'Heretique and Infidel Powers; That th' Emperour had it in his Choice to render himself formidable or indulgent to whom he pleased. And as 'tis the condition of Mans Spirit t' over-reach things permitted, and t'Enlarge the Limits of Jurisdiction; And instead of providing a Remedy, against th'Invasion of Infidels, and the Defection of Heretiques by convenient Means, hath endeavoured t' impose a yoak upon Popes, and to put Fetters upon their feet; As th' Ambassadours of *Charls* the fifth said upon the Subject of the Councel of *Trent*; And have Cherished the Murmurs of *Heretiques* and their Complaints against the Church, by reason of the Catholiques deportments, and chiefly, in respect of the vices and th'abuses whereof they Accused the Court of *Rome*.

This Reformation truly of particular Manners, is a thing much to be desired, and it hath been alwaies the wish of Honest Men to see th' antient Discipline reflourish, and th' Innocency of the Golden Age of the Church to Revive. But works are not so easie to be done, as wishe made; And the Pope by whose Authority the Councel of *Trent* was Called or Held, had reason to Declare it Just; That the Church should be purged of the Corruption stollen into some of its Members, and the Spots taken away that had Disfigured some of his *Legates*.

And it was no less Just and Reasonable, That the Princes who de-

Book III. fired with so much Heat and Vehemency that Reformation and Renovation of Ecclesiastique Spirits, should labour on their parts, to make Clean what was Sullied in their Dominions, and to Cure their Souls of those furious passions of Ambition and Revenge, wherewith they were vexed; and filling *Christendome* with fire and Sword, made nothing but Desolation and a Burying place. That the War ought first to be banisht, as the Mother of all Vices, and as the Springs of the License of some Ecclesiastiques, and the cause of their Ignorance; That Peace ought to be given to the World t' abate the sharpness of spirits, and th' hatred of parties; That the Fathers, wh' are called to Councel, might appear there, free from their Masters passions, and their Souls full of the Churches Interest.

As to th' Heretiques, who 've separated themselves upon the pretence of observing Corruption in the Church, and have done it, supposing it to be true, upon th' occasion of a greater Corruption; That they were unworthy Brothers, wh' instead of Labouring the Recovery of their sick Brethren, suffered them to dye for want of Help, and unnatural Children who forsook th' old Age of their Mother, upon Pretence, that Her beauty decayed, and that they discovered some Spot or Wrinkle upon her face. That the superfluities and Excrescencies of the Tree, if there were any, and the hanging Boughs ought to be cut off; but not the Tree cut down at the root; That they made War, to the Luxury, to the Pomp, and other Vices of the Court of *Rome*, which were th' Appurtenances of the senses, and of the Matter; And to the Pride and Felony, and to th' other Sins, which Arysing from the Spirit had the more dangerous Venome, and were of a Superiour order in Malice.

Let's return to our Subject, and for Proof and Confirmation of what we 've above said; Let's not forget t' observe, that the Councel of *Trent* in the Progress of its Convocation, or in its Continuance, was in th' hands of *Charls* the fifth, like a knife that did one while Cut against the Pope, another while against the Protestants of *Germany*; or as an Instrument, whereof He made use, sometimes to gain th' Inclinations of the very Protestants, and to draw them t' his side; Sometimes to make himself Acceptable to the *Pope*, and to place him in his Interests; And so by the Means of Fear and Hope, and by the Ministration of those two powerfull passions, Endeavoured to Govern all *Rome*, and in *Germany*, To give the Law to the people of *Christendome*, and to Circumvent and Undermine *France*, and to take away the great Counterpoise he found against th' Execution of his Designs by the force of this Kingdome.

To the Protestants, full of *Luthers* Spirit, and poysoned with his Doctrine, who burnt with Hatred against th' *Holy Chair*, He promised the Convocation of a Councel, wherein the Popes Authority should be reformed; And to the Pope, ready to burst with Grief, to see such great Schism, and defection of so many Souls, who breathed not, but for their Return to the bosome of the Church, and their Re-

union

union to the Center of its Unity, th' *Holy Chair*, He gave hopes of commanding the Protestants t'attend at the Councell; And in case they should refuse to submit t' its Resolutions and Decrees, to constrain them; And for that purpose, he caused his Threatnings to b' Intimated to the Protestants, and frighted them with th'Armies of th'*Holy Chair*, which he would strengthen with his Armes; And 'twas then, when they appeared averse t' his desires, and that they would not Conspire and Labour Joyntly with him in the Ruine of *France*, which was th'End of his Artifices. At another Time he 'ndeavoured to terrifie the *Pope*, and threatned so to Bridle him by the Councel, and to reduce his power to such streight Limits, That He would repent him of the want of Compliance to his desires, and of consent to the passions He had against *France*; And to render us Odious to the Protestants, and to sharpen th'Hatred H' had Imprinted against us, and to make fruitful the Seeds which H' had long before Sowed, He made them believe, That we were the Cause that the Councel did not hold in places Convenient, and afford Convenient Conditions for them; And at other times, He would aggravate before the *Pope* the Precautions which were offered, and the Preservatives, wherewith we were furnished, to provide against the practices they formed, and th'Evils they prepared against us at *Rome* and the Councel. Book III.

Insomuch, that we had an hard Task t'undeceive the *Germans*, to whom h' had given such Sinister Impressions of our Conduct, and had use of an Extraordinary Industry, Boldness, and good Fortune to make abortive the proposals, which his Ambassadors made at *Trent*; That all *Christendome* would make a League to force us to renounce th' Alliance made with the *Turk*, though no use was made of it, but for the Good of Christians, and for a necessary defence; And to re-establish the Duke of *Savoy* his Uncle in the places of his Countrey, which w' had taken, though Lawfully and by a Just Title of War; And for other Ends that concerned them, and not *Christendome*, and that tended to the Promotion of their Interests, and not to th' Advancement of the Churches Interest. From thence Issued those prudent Necessary protestations, which *Henry* the second Commanded to be publisht at *Rome*, and at *Trent*, by his Ambassadors, against those Conspiracies, and Monopolies; From thence came that General Resistance, which the *Suisses* made to the practices of the *Popes Nuncio*, Invented by th' Emperor, and to the violence of his Endeavors to remove them from our Allyance, and t' impede the permission of the Levies of Souldiers to be made in their Countrey in our favour.

I will not here forget a Remarkable passage of *Charls*'s ill-will to *France*, though the *Turk* was the publique Adversary, as we 've already said, which th' Imperial Dignity did assign him, and that the Contributions of th' Empire, which they call *Romas Zuk*, are principally ordained to make War against the *Turke*. That though the

Princes

Book III. Princes and Protestant States, t'ease them of th'importunities th' Emperor made them t' aid him against us; As unwilling to shake the foundations of their subsistence, which are in the Protections of this Crown, and to give th'occasion of a nobler Trial, more worthy of his Dignity, made an offer to serve him with an hundred thousand Men against the *Turk*; Yet he refused them, and was obstinate in having that relief and subvention against the Crown of *France*. Another passage also, no less remarkable, must not be forgot, of the respect this Prince paid, and th' esteem he rendred to th' *Holy Chair*, and to the Councel, for to gain th' heart of the Protestants, and t' employ their Forces against us; He permitted them, during the sitting of the Councel, and before, in the view of the *Legat*, and the *Nuntios* of the *Pope*, and without their interposition; He permitted them, I say, divers Assemblies and Conferences, t' handle there, and resolve of several Points that concern Religion, and which ought t'have been decided by the Councel. This was in effect to settle Heresie by his Authority, which had been planted by his Connivence, and give a new Title to those Errors, which were believed to be but too deeply rooted. If any thing of like nature had been acted by our Kings, and if they had so insolently forgot, that they were children of the Church, there had not been Lightning enough in the *Vatican* t' have darted on our heads in the judgment of our Adversaries; There had not been Colours black enough t' obscure their Honour, nor Satyrs violent enough to blast it. No question will be made of this Truth, if memory b' had of the Noise, which the Discourse of *Poissy* made at our Neighbours Courts and ours; though it was assembled by the *Pope*'s consent in the presence of th' Apostolique *Legat*, and t'appease the Schism which tear us in piece, and to degrade Heresie with the greater Solemnity, as the Cardinal of *Lorrain* had made the King to believe it. And nevertheless, for such wicked Enterprizes, and such sacrilegious Attempts, as those of th'Emperour, they murmured at *Rome*, but betwixt the Teeth, and secret Complaints onely were made, and Discourses in th'Ear; And whether the softness of some of the Court would not permit the Power and Fortune of *Charls* to be justled, or that Prudence did advise Dissimulation, and the Concealment of an Evil, which to chastise had been a dangerous thing; This proceeding passed unpunished at *Rome*; Th'Arms of th' *Holy Chair* were not employed to punish it; And th' House of *Austria* hath not since failed to conserve amongst its Subjects, but also amongst the Subjects of other Princes, the Reputation of being the Sword and Buckler of the Church; For that House is so powerful in Artifices, that it hath close and subtil Wheels to remove beliefs, and fine and small Plaisters to disguise its foulness, and cover its faults; And 'tis true also, that *France* is unhappy in that behalf, and that the zeal it hath ever had for Religion, and respect it hath ever born to th' *Holy Chair*, have scarce gained belief amongst men, and t'insinuate into the spirits of its own Children,

dren, and also of them wh' have truely piety and good Intentions, but give too much way to their heat, which is not sufficiently enlightned nor discreet, and too little credit to the light of others, whose heat is prudent and considerate. Book III.

A fourth Expedient, capable to gain Countries at easie Charges, and Victories without Combat, which th' Emperors of th' House of *Austria* would introduce into th' Empire, and would have carried them far, if they had not been hindred, and if *France* had not been found in their way to stop them; Is, The device of Sequestrations; This Stratagem hath so bad a Consequence to the Liberty of the Princes and States which depend upon th' Empire, that even the most affect ottate to th' House of *Austria* have been afraid, and were scandalized. And the Duke of *Bavaria*, who from all times hath been one of the Pillars that hath supported the Greathers of that House, sufficiently understood it in that sense, by a Letter of the 13th of *Decemb.* 1629. which *Sir Jacherius* writ in his name to *Sir* the *Nuntius Bagny*, in Answer to what the said *Nuntius* had written of the 5th of *October* in the same year; by which he represented unt him on the Kings behalf, *The consequence of th' Emperor's Refusal, at the request of the* Spaniards, *to give th' Investiture of such Estates to them who were the Lawful Heirs, and comprehended in the first Investitures, and to strip them of the said Estates by the means of Sequestration.* This concerned the last Duke of *Mantoua*.

They began to take this way, and to put this Design in practice, after the death of *William* Duke of *Cleves*. The *Spaniards*, that would upon any account invade his Succession, which, besides th' Extent and Goodness of the Country, was of marvellous conveniency for them; Obtained of th' Emperour, That he would ceize upon *Julliers* by th' Arch-duke *Leopald* their King's Brother in Law, and hold that place in Sequestration, till h' had judged to whom of right the Succession did belong, and had in Justice determined that famous difference, wherein there were so many knots t' untie, and so many Parties to content; That the decision could not but be very long, and very difficult. This Invention of Sequestration, if it had been in their power t' have setled it, would have given them Means, under the pretext of Justice, t' have assured themselves in time of the possession of what did not belong unto them, and whereof they were ceized by a meer congruity. And there's nothing truer, but that of Pretenders, whereof there's ever some of them at their dispositions; or the nature of the business, which cannot be so neat and clear, but that there will ever be some Shadow or Clowd that would be hard to disperse; or the Forms also of Justice, s' often contrary to th' Expedition of Justice, would make so many Difficulties t' arise, and discover so many Incidents, that the true Masters of a contentious Good, tired with delays, without an end, and dispairing of ever drawing it from so powerful and covetous hands, as theirs that retained it from them, should be compelled t' hearken to Proposals

made

Book III. made them, to receive a Compensation, and to take some real and effective thing for a few hopes ill grounded, and for some vain and frivolous Titles. Insomuch that they would become in Apparence Lawful Masters of that, whereof they were before but unlawful Detainers; And what in the beginning, and in its original, was nothing but force and violence, would in its progress and sequel take the visage and the colours of Justice.

In that manner, the *Spaniards* had resolved t'handle the Duke of *Mantoua*, if he would have consented to the Sequestration of the Cittadel of *Casal*; And they would, it may be, have done the like t'him, if they had taken that place by force, as they made great Assaults to take it. Th'Offer which they caused to be made unt'him of *Cremonis*, with reservation of the Cittadel of *Cremona*, or of some other Country of like value in the *French* County, instead of *Montferrat*, is a tacit Approbation of the Violence they exercised, because they did endeavour in some measure to repair it, and a manifest Argument of the proceeding they would hold in th' use of Sequestrations, and by th'Introduction of that new Expedient, t' insinuate into the Countries, which are commodious for them, under some form of Equity, and in preserving th'Apparences of Justice.

Charls the Fifth in truth, in the difference which hath so long exercised the Dukes of *Savoy*, of *Mantoua*, and of other Princes, upon the subject of *Montferrat*, did not proceed by way of Sequestration, before h' had given judgment upon that Affair. Th' Enterprise seemed unt' him too bold and jealous, respect being had to the present Conjuncture; And h' understood well, that it cooled the good-will of them whom h'had a desire to keep in Newtrality; That fear stopped his desire t'usurp *Montferrat*, under the pretext lately mentioned; And he chose rather to draw that business into length, and to make use of it as a Lure or a Bait to draw the Duke of *Savoy* t' his Party, and to debosh from our Interests the Marquis of *Saluſſe*, in hopes that the *Montferrat*, on which h' had also pretensions, should b'adjudged t'him; As *Antonio de Leve* had given him t'understand. At last, having long plaid with the Duke's credulity, and deceived the Marquis, h' adjudged the possession of *Montferrat* to the Duke of *Mantoua*, and left the claim to the Duke of *Savoy*, to pursue it civilly, and according to the forms of Justice in th' Imperial Chamber. He did not intend to make him Greater, on whose Countries h' had great designes, and whom he would not permit to be Master of the Barriere which sever *France* from *Italy*, and *Keeper* of the Gate by which the *French* might enter. His Successors have been more hardy and inconsiderate than he was, and have stirred an Engine which is never shaken, but to their shame and ruine; For that cause they raised a cruel and long War in *Italy*, but what they gained thereby, was to fall by the just judgment of God into the Precipice they would have avoided, and to draw the *French* into that Country, whom they would for ever have excluded.

Let's

Let's return to the Matter of Sequeſtrators, who've plunged us ſo deep into this Subject, and obſerve it, as a ſtrange thing, that the *Spaniards*, wh' approved of them as plauſible and juſt in other mens affairs, will not hear talk of them in matters of Conteſt that concern them. And all the world knows, that in the Succeſſion of *Portugal*, which five or ſix Pretenders rendred famous in the time of our Fathers, *Philip* the Second would never conſent, that that Kingdom ſhould be put in Depoſite, or permit, as he ſaid, his Right to depend upon another mans Judgment, which nevertheleſs was never ſo clear and indubitable, as that of the Marquis of *Brandeburg*, and of the Duke of *Newberge* for the Succeſſion of the Countries of *Cleves*; And that of the Duke of *Nevers* to the Succeſſion of *Mantoua*. Book III.

A Fifth Expedient to grow Greater, and a Right which th'Empire ſometimes appropriates for its Advancement and Enlargement, Is the Confiſcation of the Feifes which do ariſe; But in regard that we will treat of them in the Third Part, of th' Affairs of the *Palatinate*, and make a ſtay therein of purpoſe, at leaſt if ſome prudent conſideration do not hinder us, we will content our ſelves in ſending the *Reader* thither, and paſs on, having onely obſerved, That th'Imperial Dignity brings with it theſe great Rights, and fair Prerogatives, and that it ſhines by theſe Illuſtrious Privileges, above all the Secular Dignities of *Chriſtendom*. But inſomuch, that th'Abuſes and Exceſſes of great Powers are not leſs dangerous, than the overflowings of great Rivers; And that they reſemble to the Chariot of the *Sun*, the Poets feign, which cannot go out of its natural walk, nor quit the Ecliptick Line, without burning a part of the World. The Powers of Emperors are limited, as in other places hath been ſaid, and Boundaries are raiſed, that they may not go out of their Places, nor paſs their Limits; The Pathes H' ought to walk in are ſet out unt' him, and the Courſe h' ought to take, by the pragmatique Sanctions, and by the Reſolutions of the Dyets of the Princes and States of th'Empire. Thoſe Laws and Reſolutions Moderate that Power, and make that Symetrie of Temper, and Harmony of Humours of all the Body, whereof th'Emperors are but th'Head; 'Tis, what th'Elector *Maurice* of *Saxe* intended, when he ſaid, That *Germany* advanced ſo many paces to its ruine, as th'Emperor added new Degrees t' his Power; and that it might b' ever free and flouriſhing, it was neceſſary always to conſerve the Princes Authority and their Power, in the Conſtitution of th'Empire, which were the Counterpoiſe that ballanc'd it.

But ſince it was very hard to maintain the Evenneſs of the Counterpoiſe, and that Ambition, like the Fire, ſays, 'Tis never enough; And that to rule it breaks all the Chains that Juſtice thinks to with-hold it by, and reſpects neither Laws nor Cuſtoms to ſatisfie its Ends; Support for th' Empire hath been ſought out of th'Empire, and the Subſiſtence of the Body and Liberty of the Members have in a ſpecial manner been under the Protection of

Book III. *France*. In what way this Protection is formed, whether by Reciprocal Treaties, or by Custom changed into the Force of a Law; What this Crown hath ever practised t' hasten the Relief of th' Empire, and hinder the Dissolution of the Body, and th' Annihilation of its Natural Form; 'Tis not any business here t'enquire after; 'Tis sufficient that the *Germans* are agreed, and have always declared it in their Treaties, which they've made with our Kings, when they were to be redeemed from vexation, and came t'implore their Endeavours or Arms. This Formal Acknowledgment, and Express Declaration is seen in the League of th' Elector *Maurice*, and th'other Princes his Associates, made with *Henry* the Second, to secure *Germany* from th'Irons which *Charls* the Fifth would have imposed on it; That there's no question to be made of it; Insomuch that *France* cannot b' accused of Temerity, or of Undertaking, when it appears in th' Affairs of *Germany*, and that it interposeth its Cares and Arms, That the Ballance spoken of stand streight, and Lean not on th' Emperor's, nor on the Princes side, and Free Towns of th' Empire.

I speak not here, because I've else-where done it, of that General and Indefinite Obligation, which Great Persons have to relieve Inferiour persons when they're oppressed; The common Law of Humanity, whereof they're not exempt, and the particular Law of Charity, which sometimes enters into their Conduct, exact this Duty of all that can render it; And the Law of their Interest, which is the supreme and powerful Law of Princes, doth sufficiently press them t' hinder the Great from devouring the Lesser persons, lest they should grow too Great, and lest Power enflaming their Ambition, thrust them on, and extend it to the Dominions of other Princes. I speak not also of another Obligation, more Bounded and Circumscribed, which *France* hath to protect some Princes and particular States of th'Empire, and to b' a Shelter and Haven unto them in time of Persecution and Tempest; Such as the protection and safeguard it owes particularly to th'Elector of *Treves*, which was respected by the King of *Swede*, and Sacred with victorious Heretiques, with whom neither he nor we had any War; 'Tis true, That th'aid which *France* owes to th'Empire, when 'tis threatned with Ruine, hath not much appeared since it entred into th'house of *Austria*, but in favour of the Members against th' Enterprizes of the Chief; As also th'oppression and violence which hath been opposed, proceeded from that side, and had their Beginning in th'Invasions the Princes of that House would have made upon the Liberty of others. Yet *France* failed not the last Emperor, when there was need of it. And if in the Troubles of *Bohemia*, and after those happy beginnings, and the visible Evidences of a more happy Sequel of the *Palatine*'s Arms, the King had not permitted the *French* to go out of *France*, to fortifie th'Emperor's Troops, and sent the most Solemn and Illustrious Ambassy, which of a long time hath gone out of this King-

dom,

dom; t' untie the Proteſtant League, and break the Courſe of their Prosperity, Th' Emperor had run th' hazard of being ſtript of his Countries, and t' have tried the ſame fortune he hath made the *Palatine* to ſuffer, and to become Penſioner to the *Spaniards*, as th'other hath been to th' *Hollanders*. Book III.

'Tis eaſie to conclude, from what hath been above-ſaid, That 'tis not without Reaſon, that th'Houſe of *Auſtria* makes th'Empire the Baſis and Centre of their pretended Monarchy; That 'tis not without Reaſon, that the late Emperor writing to the King of *Spain*, t' incline him t' approve of the tranſlation of th' Electorat of the *Count Palatine* to the Perſon of the Duke of *Bavaria*, repreſented unt' him the conſideration, That it had ever been the Judgment of their Predeceſſors, that the Seat, whereupon the Greatneſs of their Houſe ought to reſt, was *Germany*, and that th' Empire was th'higheſt and the moſt eminent piece of all *Germany*; That that Dignity was to be conſerved in their Houſe above all other things; And that the promotion of *Baviere*, and of his Succeſſors to th' Electorate, rendring the Suffrages of the Catholick Electors ſuperior in number, which ſhould ever deſcend to the Princes of that Race, the poſſeſſion of th'Empire would be the better eſtabliſhed, and what in Form and Apparences might appear Elective, would in Effect and Subſtance become Hereditary. And the late King, wh' had ſo many Natural and Acquired Lights of the things of this world, and in whom the good ſenſe, wherewith he was born, was ſo much improv'd by th'Experience h' had gain'd, ſaid in a contrary ſenſe to that of the Duke of *Anhalt*, when he was ſent unt' him from the Princes of *Germany*, wh' had made a League with him, to be delivered in good earneſt from th'Attempts and Allarms, which they ſ' often received from th' Houſe of *Auſtria*, That it was neceſſary to force th' Empire from that Houſe, where it ſeem'd t' have taken root, and to paſs it int' another Catholique Houſe, but leſs Ambitious; And having ſhorter and weaker Wings, might not extend them ſo far, nor flie ſo high.

But Death cauſed that magnificent Project to miſcarry, when it was but in the Flower, and th' Execution it may b' is reſerved for ſome of his Heirs, who may inherit ſuch magnanimous Thoughts, and march upon ſuch generous Impreſſions as the King doth at this time; Wh' is as worthy an Imitator of the Virtues of his Father, as Lawful Succeſſor of his Kingdom; He 's inflamed with the ſame zeal for th' eſtabliſhment of the Peace of *Chriſtendom*, and hath this ſatisfaction, t' have omitted nothing that might b' inſtrumental to cut off that fatal Succeſſion of th'Empire from th'Houſe that enjoys it; And that Tranſaction of ill Augury, which is made from th'one to th'other, in the Perſons of their Princes. That he ſpares not any thing to reduce th' Empire to its firſt Condition, and antient Form; That what they would make Abſolute and Monarchick, is temper'd by th' Ariſtocracy convenient and proper for it; And that

Book III. all is Governed in *Germany* by the Laws and Conſtitutions there Eſtabliſhed, and not by th' Ambition and Capricious humours of them, who would put themſelves above the Conſtitutions and Laws. That by the Re-eſtabliſhment of that fair Order, and by th' Obſervation of Things that ought to maintain it, The Peace, which ought to be given to the World, b' Eſtabliſhed in great Safety, and that the Remembrance of Evils paſt; whereof the return will not be feared, ſerve only t' Augment the ſweetneſs of preſent Benefits, which are not in danger to be loſt. We ſhall ſhortly be ſenſible of the Time of this moſt happy Condition, and though the War ſeems to be ſtronger and hotter than it hath formerly been, 'Tis the laſt Breath it yields up, and the Livelieſt flames of a Torch, which is ready to go out.

Fourth Diſcourſe.

Charls *the fifth was of Opinion, That t' attain the Monarchy, H' ought to make himſelf Maſter of one of theſe three Countries,* France, Italy, *or* Germany; *That he failed of all of them, and could not ſubdue but a part of* Italy.

HAving cleared and unfolded that Principle of the Doctrine, which *Ferdinand* left t' his Succeſſors to gain the Monarchy; Lets ſee, what profits they 've made of it, and what hath been th' Harveſt of ſ' admirable a Seed. Death which took away *Philip* of *Auſtria* in the Life of *Maximilian* th' Emperour his Father, permitted him not to carry his Thoughts out of *Spain*, nor to Labour at the Work, whereof his Father-in-Law had drawn the Platform, and which ſo long Exerciſed, and ſo Vainly, his Son *Charls*. This *Charls* then failed not, to turn his firſt paces of Youth towards th' Empire; And though the Steps which carried to this higheſt Dignity, were Rude and Slippery, and that many Enemies were to b' Overcome, and Barriers broken before Arrival there, yet he undertook it. The Maternal Family, from whence he Iſſued, was had in Jealouſie with the *Germans*, wh' had no mind to ſubmit, but t' a Blood purely *German*, and that ſhould receive no Alteration by a proud and ſubtil Mixture, as was that of *Spain*; He found alſo upon his way, a brave and powerfull Competitor; And *Francis* the firſt, as well as himſelf, aimed at the purchaſe of a Miſtreſs, for ſo th' Emperour called th' Empire, which was worthy of all his Love, of all his Fortune and Powers.

H' overcame, nevertheleſs, theſe two Obſtacles, and was happy enough in allaying th' Averſion of the *Germans*, and in Triumphing over the perſutes of the *French*. The manner of the proceedings of theſe two Princes in this glorious Addreſs, was very different;

Francis,

Francus, it may be, who was too Magnanimous for a Prince, at least for th' Age wherein he Lived, and whose Soul did breathe nothing but Generosity and Liberty, said that *Charls* and himself offered at the purchase of th' Empire, as two Honest Men pretended to the Love of a Fair Lady; That they desired it, without wishing ill t' one another, and for that cause were provoked by Emulation, and not by Envy; And having Acted in that Concurrence only by good Endeavours, with Promises, and with Money; He stood inferiour t' his Rival, who besides th' Advantages of his paternal Birth, added Threatnings and Force, and made his solicitations in th' Equipage of a Man of War, and accompanied with a good Army. This high pretension having been Crowned with the Success he desired, invited him to form another, to which that served, as a Plank, as hath been said, for the Christian Monarchy; And the youth wherein he then found himself, made him also hope, That h' had time enough for the Cariere, and was long t' Enjoy the good h' ought to gather at th' End of that course. Book III.

But th' Execution of this great Project, answered not his Hopes, and Fortune made them to Vanish, when they made the fairest and most pleasing shew; The Monarchy wherewith he was so bewitched, slipt almost out of his hands, and resembled th' Apples of the Fables, which falling upon the Lips of the famished *Tantalus*, and having Kissed them, fell back and flew away: That hapned twice unto him, The first after th' Journey of *Pavia*, where *Francis* the first was taken Prisoner; And the second, after the defeat of the Protestant League of *Germany*, where the Duke of *Saxe* was also defeated. In this success, he was stopped, when he was most Elevated, as hath been often said, and the fore-sight of *Paul* the third hindered his Progress, and cut the Wings of his Victory in the strength of its Flight, and rapidity of its Motion. In th' other he was Blinded with that unexpected prosperity, as with an Excess of Light, and finding his Success higher than he had proposed it, his Head turned in that manner, that he knew not how to take th' Advantages over us, which h' had before his Eyes, nor give his hands to Fortune that would have Led him effectively to what h' had before but in Desires and Thoughts.

However, *Charls* had no sooner turned his Eyes to the pretended Monarchy, and faced that charming Object, but he found himself Opposed by two great difficulties in th' Acquisition of it, which neither he, nor his could ever Overcome, nor heal one of the two Wounds, but th' other was open. The first and the most Important, was the want of Men of War, which nevertheless was less felt in *Charl*'s time, than in his Successors; And the second is the want of Money, wherewith *Charls* was much Troubled, and his Successors less felt. And for that Reason, it hath hapned unto them for their great design, as t' him that would raise a great Building in a place where there are no Materials, and having not Command of

Book III. of Quaries or Foresʦ for Stone and Timber, know not almoſt, where t' have any, nor from whence to bring any. Above all Impediments, God permitted, that a conſtant ſupply of Men, the moſt neceſſary thing for th' Accompliſhment of their Work, failed them; for without Men, as all the World knows, great Warrs cannot b' Entertained or Continued, permanent Progreſs cannot be made, nor laſting Conqueſts; A warlike Prince may run and pillage a great Extent of Country, but he cannot take Root, nor ſettle without ſupplies of Men. And that Collection of *Bergers* and of *Vagabonds*, from whence iſſued the Republique that Commanded all the World, began the Monarchy, which their Succeſſors raiſed in making a Proviſion of Men; in changing th' Inhabitants of Conquered Cities into Citizens, and Burgeſſes of *Rome*; And by 'ſtabliſhing in the Circumvallation of *Rome*, the principal Body, from whence their Armies ſhould be formed, from whence their Garriſons ſhould be drawn, and from whence their Colonies ſhould be ſent. Theſe things nevertheleſs, did not cool th' heat of *Charls*, and theſe Difficulties did but the more inflame his Courage t' overcome them, and above all t'Endeavour th' Opening of ſome Spring of Men of War that might be Plentifull, and t' aſſure himſelf of ſome well peopled Country, that might ſerve for the Recrute of his Armies, and the Relief of all his Loſſes: for that End, *Italy* was very Rich, and well Peopled; *Germany* that was well Peopled, and indifferently Rich, and to which, the *Low-Countries*, whereof he was Lord, ſerved for a Binding and Fringe; And *France*, which had both theſe Conditions, almoſt in an Equal degree, and was equally Peopled and Rich. As to *France*, h' had no Lawfull pretence t' aſſault it, and there's no Country in the World, whoſe Poſſeſſion was more Entire or leſs Troubleſome to its Maſter; Beſides, that it was then ſo ſtrong, and ſo well ſemented a Body, and th' Union of th' Head with all the Members was ſo ſtrict and firm, that in the Condition wherein *Charls* then found himſelf, there was no place for hope to Conquer it by Land, not ſo much as to Shake it. For that purpoſe then, t'was neceſſary for him t' attend till he became more Powerfull, and that Fortune offered him ſome juſt Object, or ſome ſpecious Colour t' undertake it, which happens, but too often in th' Intricacy of Affairs, and in the Confuſion of the Things of this World.

As to *Germany*, and that Vaſt and Warlike Country, where the Men of War do not decay, and where Men are ſeen to be Born, as to Dye in their Armies, Th' Enterprize would bring with it Extreme difficulties, and almoſt Invincible; for though *Charls* was inveſted with th' Imperial Dignity, which is particularly Known and Reverenced in that Country, and that he had there a conſiderable Patrimony; yet, the Dignity being in it ſelf but a ſingle perſonal Title, or at leaſt not bringing to him, wh' Enjoys it, a handfull of Hereditary Land; And the power Joyned to it, being

but

but Subaltern and Dependent upon the Resolutions of the Dyets, Book III.
and Voluntary contributions of the Princes; and free Towns of th' Empire. But that, and all the rest of the Revenue of *Charls*, was not sufficient t' oppose the Powers of those Princes and Towns, who would not fail t' unite themselves to defend the Common Liberty, so soon as it should be Threatned; And to draw to their party other Powers, who would be Jealous of s' Ambitious a Design; and Interests themselves in Impeding the setting up of a New Monarchy in the midst of *Christendome*. So that he well Understood, that he could never subdue *Germany*, so long as it Continued Entire, and that nothing but the Wind of Division could bring him to th' Haven of his Ambition, and to gain it, many Ships must be Rigg'd, and many Tempests Endured; And to Conquer it, many Parties were to be stirred up, and disorders kindled in *Germany*, or to b' ever in Arms, and ready t' Embrace all Occasions that should appear, and to make use of the Disorders which should arise.

But till Fortune provide so propitious an Occasion, and so favourable a Conjuncture, the most present Object, which then appeared to tempt *Charls*'s humour, was *Italy*; And that fair Country had so many Temptations to make him in Love, That the passion of Conquest began to fix on him, and to Dart his first flames at it, which truly was no strange thing for th' Emperour, nor for *Italy*. Th' Advantagious situation of it, by which it borders *France*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, and upon the Countries of the *Grand Signior*; The Greatness and Magnificency of its Towns, The fertility of the greatest part of the Lands; Th' Havens, wherewith they abound, and the great summs of Money which Trade brings thither; the Wit of its Inhabitants, and the Temper of their Souls, make up in one person an Excellent Negotiator, and a great Souldier; And above all these Temptations, the Seat of the Chief of the Church contained in it, and th' Advantages might be raised there in Temporal Matters by the Master of it, are capable to quicken a Soul, less sensible of greatness than *Charls*'s, and to provoke an Appetite less greedy of Domination than his.

Though all this be true; and that th' Excellencies and Inchantments of *Italy* might oblige him t' undertake the Conquest, yet th' Execution was not easie, and many Inches were to be gone over, and ill wayes to be past, before he could Arrive there; for though *Charls* had then one foot in the Country, and was possessed of *Naples*, one of the fairest Portions and powerfullest Members of *Italy*; 'Tis to be considered, That the Country being but at one End of it, and by consequent, Frontiere to the rest, He could not advance without Encountring the Church Dominions, and without an Hostile Entry, which would have been an odious Business and Matter of scandal t' other Princes, and have raised an ill Sent amongst the greatest part of his Subjects, and even in *Spain*; That th' *Italians* were not a people to be surprized by Artifices, or amazed

Book III. zed at Apparences; That they looked far into the future, and very clear int' others Intentions; That they would discover his Design at the least noise he should make, and smell the sent that should evaporate, though never so little; That the Jealousie they had for their Liberty was so tender, that a very small Emotion would serve t' awaken it; And distrust is so natural to them, and they sharpen it so keenly by the vivacity of their understanding, and by the subtilty of their speculations, that they would not onely take Apprehensions of visible things, but also suspect often what was not, and give themselves many false Alarms, not to be found asleep when true ones hapned. And as that Prince in many occasions was Happy beyond his Hopes, and Prudent above his Contemporaries, in making good use of occasions, Fortune presented him with a favourable Opportunity for his Design, and managed it with so much Circumspection and Wisdom, that he gained *Milan*, and was seized at last of the noblest part of *Italy*. This Country is the Centre, whose Extremities confine almost upon all th'other States of *Italy*, and the Line which makes the Communication of *Spain* with *Italy*, by the vicinity of *Genes*, an Appertenant; And of *Italy*, with the *Suisses*, the *Grisons*, and the rest of *Germany*, by the vicinity of the *Voltoline*; 'Tis the place of Arms, and the Rendevous to receive from the *Low-Countries*, or to send thither from *Italy*, *Germany*, and from *Spain*, the Men of War, whereof those Countries may have need. Insomuch that since th' Emperour was assured of that Country, and had put his foot in *Piedmont* and in *Toscany*, H' had his Reckoning, and took his Measures to that End, holding all the Ecclesiastique Countries, as Environed, and the Gulf of *Venice* in Jealousie, by the Means of the Coasts of *Naples*; He commanded *Sienna*, *Porther cule*, and some other places which h' held on that side, to be Fortifi'd, to bridle all *Toscany*; He would have had *Montferrat* of the Duke of *Mantoua*, in exchange of *Cremona*, and transmitted it to the Duke of *Savoy*, with the Reservation of *Casall*, *Trin*, *Mont calne*, and *Pontdesture*; To draw from him *Vercel*, *Gallinare*, *Inree*, *St. Germacia*, *Mazin*, and *Crescentine*; H' intended to fortifie those Ten places, so strong, and to raise such powerful Barriers against th' Irruptions of the *French*, that they should for ever lose th' hopes of forcing them, and of marching int' *Italy*, and th' *Italians* by consequent the Will of calling them in, and solliciting of them t' an unprofitable Protection, and impossible Defence. Besides all this, He conceived to pinch so near the *Genoues*, and so to straighten them, that they would permit of a Cittadel, and deliver up t' him *Savonna*, to make him Master of the *Ferry* of *Barcellona*, and of *Genes*, and that the Duke of *Savoy* would also accord unto him *Nice*, and hold in subjection the Coasts of *Provance*, and of *Languedoc*, and t' have in his hands the Key of the Commerce of those two Provinces in *Italy*.

There

There remained also to Consummate the Work, and to finish the Circumvallation, which had taken away from th' *Italians* all Hopes of Relief, and all Apparence of Resurrection, but t' Invade the *Voltoline*, and to ceize upon that famous Gate, by which the *Suisses*, the *Grisons*, the *Germans*, and the *French* are enabled to descend int' *Italy*; but H' had Eyes only to Covet that Valley; And it had been then too Dangerous for Him t' have used force to Ravish it; The *Venetians* also, whose Spirits were never more Warlike, nor Arms sharper than at this Time, would never willingly have suffered such an Usurpation upon the Liberty of *Italy*, and such a particular Block-House against their Country of *Ferme Land*. Besides the strong Troops and Excellent Chiefs of War which they 'd on Foot to fight th' Evil in its Spring, They 'd as they 've now a back-door open by Sea, and the facility of setting forth a Powerfull Navy, to make a Diversion upon the Kingdome of *Naples*. Book III.

But what most affrighted *Charls*, and Tempered most th' Heat wherewith He burned for the Conquest of the *Voltoline*, was th' Interest which the *Suisses* would make use of, t' hinder him, and with all their Forces t' oppose him. 'Tis certain, that there was not a Nation in *Christendome* more Warlike and more to be feared than that of the *Suisses*; The variety of Religions which hath since Traversed them, did not weaken them in the Division, and the Time which changeth and alters all the World, had abated nothing of their strength, nor diminished their accustomed valour. These Considerations suspended for that time th' Emperors design, and made him resolve t' attend till Time and Fortune made some occasion t' appear more favourable for th' Execution. In the mean Time, by th' Evenness and Beauty of the Platform, which h' had drawn to subdue *Italy*, may be seen, what a Great Master this Prince was in the Science of Conquering, and Ingeniere in the Work of Destroying and Founding of Republiques. It may also be seen by the Success, which befell him in that behalf, How God Confounded his Wisdome, and laughed at his Projects; How He made them miscarry, when they seemed to be the most Happily advanced, and neareſt to their Period, and how his Posterity, which hath stuck to 't, have found the Labour of a Squibb, which scatters, as it is fired, and th' Exercise of *Homers Penelope*, whose Web untyed, as fast as it was Woven together.

Let's return to th' occasion, which *Fortune* made t' arise for *Charls*, and to the way it opened for him to pass through int' *Italy*. That proceeded from the Quarrel, which kindled betwixt *Francis* the first and *Sforces* by reason of the State of *Milan*, whereof they were in possession, and which *Francis* would Recover, as a Piece that did belong to him, and as a Member Dependent upon the Succession which was fallen to him. It was not difficult for a Prince great in Virtue and Powers as *Francis* was, to strip Petty Princes, as the *Sforces* were, whilst they were alone to resist him, and sole supporters

Book III. of the Quarrel. But they ſtaid not long in that Poſture, and th' other Princes of *Italy* ſuffered with too great Impatiency of Heart, and as in the Centre of their Countrey, a King of *France*, who beſides the pretenſions h' had t'other States there, had alſo, as they Conjectured, too great a power for ſmall Deſigns, and t' Ambitious a Soul to be their Neighbour only, to whom he might become a Maſter. But all that was nothing to the Jealouſie *Charls* Conceived, and h' had there a ſtronger Intereſt than others, by reaſon of the Kingdome of *Naples*; The poſſeſſion whereof being but ſtaggering, as of a Countrey newly Conquered, to which *Francis* had Right, and whoſe Inhabitants were naturally Lovers of Change, and greedy of Novelty; That made him reſolve t' Aid th' *Italians* Deſign vigorouſly, and to Labour with all his Power the Re-eſtabliſhment of the *Sforces*.

But He ſtaid not there, and He was ſo happy, That the *French* were not only driven from *Milan*, and that the *Sforces* re-entred it; but that the *Sforces* dying without Children, He retained it for Himſelf, or at leaſt Conferred it as Emperor, and as a Feif of th' Empire upon his Son *Philip*; And ſo th' *Italian* Princes had the good luck to gain their deſires in ſending us beyond the Mountains; but they had not all they aimed at, which was, that the State of *Milan* ſhould not depart from a Prince of their Countrey, and of *Italian* Birth. In that, Fortune ſupplanted their Providence; and in being delivered of a ſtranger, whoſe Neighbourhood was in Jealouſie with them, They had the diſpleaſure to ſee his place taken by another, who was not in leſs ſuſpition with them; or who knew better than the *French* to keep his Conqueſts, and gather the Fruits of his Victory, as *Charls* and his Succeſſors have done. 'Tis not here to be forgot, that after the Gain of the Battel of *Pavia*, and the taking of *Francis*, which were Acted in that War; Th' Emperor took off his Vizard, and declared himſelf publiquely for the deſign of the Chriſtian Monarchy; That hapned at the Conſultation made, whether he ſhould ſet *Francis* at Liberty, and whereupon the Duke of *Alva* gave his opinion boldly, That h' ought not to do it, and that the fatal Time was Come, wherein it was neceſſary to Collect the many different Countries, which compoſe *Chriſtendome*, into one Body, and under one Head, t'oppoſe it entire and united againſt the *Turks* Empire, and th' *Ottomons* Greatneſs; as the ſole Means t' abate and deſtroy it. But inſomuch that the ſtrongeſt Oppoſition, and the moſt Invincible Obſtacle, which th' Emperor had Encountred to his deſigns, came from *France*, and on what ſide ſoever He turned, H' alwaies found *French* Forces in his way, or th' Authority of this Crown; He reſolved to turn all his Arms againſt us, and to deſtroy the Foundation upon which the ſafety of *Italy* and of *Germany* was raiſed. But all theſe Aſſaults did but diſcover an Impotent Will of doing miſchief, and the various Expeditions he ſet a foot upon that occaſion on *Picardy* ſide, *Champagna* and *Provance*, amounted at laſt to ſhameſull Retraits, or to great

great Losses of Armies. And what appeared most admirable, and made the Deceit of the Discourses of Men the more Visible, and the vanity of their Wisdome, was, That th' Enterprize which *Charls* supposed to be the most certain and happy proved the most unhappy and Ruinous. Book III.

In the Journey He made to *Provance*; th' Expedition whereof I speak, He came not, as to make a Conquest, but to take Possession; And *Antonio* of *Leve* the first Author of the Design, disswaded it not, as Judging it Difficult, but as esteeming it Infallible; And that his Master might have all the Fruits of the Success, and all the Glory of the Design, *Italy*, *Germany*, and the *Low-Countries* were Infected with a certain Prophecie, which th' Emperor had caused to be scattered in those Countreys; That *France* ought to change Master this year; And upon that Ridiculous Fear, and upon Hopes no less Ridiculous; The Marquis of *Saluße* General of the Kings Armies in *Piedmont*, quitted his service, and by the Basest and most Infamous Treason, whereof Mention ever hath been made, became the Desertour of th' Army he Commanded; As a Pilot, who gets out of his Ship at the first Noise of a Tempest. 'Twas then, that th' Emperor published it openly, and in th' Excess of his vanity, That the King of *France* ought to strip him, or be stripped by him, And that the King of *France* should become Emperor, and King of the *Spaines*, or that he would become King of *France*. That is to say, The Monarch of the Christian Republique, by a necessary Consequence. And yet the Success gave the Lye to that fair Prophecie, *Antonio de Leve* paid with his Life, which he left in *Provance*, the Rashness of his Counsel, and Novelty of his Dissimulation. And th' Emperor had the shame with his *Ferrant Gonsalve* Marquis of *Gast* and Duke of *Alva*, To retire without doing any thing, but the loss of thirty thousand Men, in Taking what we did not defend, and in Entring of Places, which we had abandoned.

Fifth Discourse.

Of the third Enterprize of Charls *the fifth to gain the Monarchy, and how it failed him.*

TH' Emperour having failed of his stroak upon *Italy* and *France*, applied himself to a Third Enterprize; And as they wh' Assault a place by a Quarter which they found stronger than they did Imagine it, Change their Design, and Assault it another way, which they believe Weaker and less Defensible; He resolved to trye whether the wind would be more favourable unt' him, and the Conquest of *Germany* more easie. Two Heads shall here be proposed to Consideration, which may serve to whet th' Understanding, and open the Reasonings of them, wh' are yet in th' Elements of Policy; And, if

Book III. I may dare, to turn a word in some manner Sacred, t' an unsacred use, wh' are but *Catechumenes* in this Science; 'Tis for them also for whom alone I write. And I am not so vain as to pretend t' Instruct and Discipline them, wh' are actually Ministers of State, but onely them who may be such, and labour to strengthen themselves with necessary Experiments, and proper Dispositions, to receive so noble a form. As for others, by whose Conduct my Works are enriched, and my Discourses draw spirits and life, I should not be less ridiculous, if I had undertaken it, than if the Stars, having Reason and Liberty, should presume to give a great Light to the Sun, from whom they receive all their Light, and all the Beams they send us.

The first Head then whereof I will speak, is, what I have already discovered, of the Constitution th' Emperor found *Germany* in; That's to say, as a strong and thick Body, which could not b' overthrown at once, but must be divided and put into parts, t' usurp them all, in getting them by parts. The division ought to b' in part a work of Fortune, and some effect of a Malign Planet to fall on that Country, and partly a stroke of Human Industry, and the fruit of that Reason of State, which may be called, if you please, *Prudence* or *Malice*.

As to the second, 'tis certain, that *Charls* was a great worker of Division, and a dextrous sower of Discord; And 'tis certain also, that 'tis not uneasie to sow that Grain, and to make it fructifie, where there are different Interests, and where many may pretend to the same things of Right or Conveniency. But for th' effecting of *Charls*'s great design in th' Usurpation of all *Germany*, and of so many Soveraign Members that compose it, to make a Monarchical Body, A light and short Discord was not sufficient, or to divide it into parts, unless it were of Continuance, to prevent their Rejoyning; There ought to be somewhat of permanency and of duration; The Fire ought to be lasting and opiniated, and the Matter to maintain it ought to be combustible, but not perishing; Otherwise ther's nothing more natural and ordinary, than that a general Interest, as of Liberty oppressed, rally them, whom a particular Interest had divided. And it hath been often seen, that the Conjunction of Enemies hath restored Concords and good Intelligence in Armies, which before were but Partialities and Discords.

But Fortune did that in favour of *Charls*, which his Industry could not effect for his Interests, and kindled that durable and opiniated Fire in raising Heresie, whereof h' had need, that cut all the Sinues of the *German* Body, and broke for ever all th' Union of its Members. The business is but too well known and tried; That there's no subject, wherein the Wills of Men are so Irreconcileable, as that wherein Mens Understandings have contrary Apprehensions in Matters of Salvation, or Wounds so hard t' heal, as them which Heresie makes in the Politique Body. Wherefore *Charls* connived at the Birth of *Luther*'s Heresie, and choked it not when he might have done it; supposing, it may be, that He could when He pleased smother it.

And

And having beaten his Enemies with that Flail, suppress them, and even by their Means whom He would beat. But He was deceived in both, and God did not permit that so subtil a poison as his, should make his Operation, and so studied a Mischief b' hapoy. For that new Sect had so many wishes from the Princes, to whom they did abandon the Goods of the Church, which were yet in *Germany*; And so many Courtesies from the People, whom they freed from the various Mortifications of the Blood and Flesh; That no Sect ever made so suddain a progress, or took so rapid or so impetuous a course; So that, whether th' Emperor had not then strength enough to justle it, or that He would permit the Zeal to cool, wherewith all young Sects do burn, or that more pressing occasions did call him int' other places, as the defence of the State of *Milan* in *Italy*; He resolved for some time not to disturb the Religionaries of *Germany*, but to make use of th' Advantages, which the permission of that Novelty might prepare for him, and to serve himself of the Demands, of the Threatnings, and of the Forces of th' Innovators, for the Designs h' had in *Italy*, and in *France*, as it hath been represented. Book III.

But the Destiny of worldly things, and the Concatenation of th' Affairs of *Europe*, having ordained, that th' Attempts of *Charls* in *Italy* and in *France*, should prove abortive and vain in both Designs; And having no hopes of acting any thing in those places, where He was emptied of Invention and Forces, and where H' had lost so much without the least gain, as in *France*; and gained so little by his Labours and Conquests as h' had done in *Italy*; He resolved t'apply himself to the Conquest of *Germany*, and to revive in good earnest the Design, which till then h' had laid asleep; for the reducing it t' his obedience. For this purpose, and it shall be the second Head whereof hath been spoken, the Considerations shall be made out which probably prevailed with him, and the Reasonings whereupon He grounded his Resolutions t'engage in that Enterprize, and hoise Sail, which was not at last propitious t' him.

Germany then torn in pieces by different Religions; And the Powers of Evil having been so efficacious, and its progress so active, that the number of the sound were found much inferior to the sick parts, and these more uncapable to return t' health by the proximity and influence of others, than they to be spoiled by the Contagion and Malignity of the first. And time, having opened the Protestants Eyes, and the various face of Affairs, by which th' Emperor had managed them, betwixt contrary Motions of Hope and Fear, of Promises and Threats, giving them cause t'understand, that his Intention was never to make use of them, but as th' Instruments of his Designs, and Agents of his Passions to torment *Italy*, and give trouble to *France*; And wearied with so many Artifices, and so many Changes, and knowing *Charls*'s humour impatient of Rest, and his Spirit transported with a perpetual Ambition, and agitated with a continual Flux and Reflux of Turbulent Projects, and Warlike Thoughts; Considering,

Book III. Considering, that having stirred so much, and overthrown so much in other places, sometimes with success, and sometimes unprofitably; And having cast his last hooks, and employed his last strength, without taking or carrying away what he desired; Making no question, but at last he would assault them, as a more probable and easie prize of prey; And as Victims sacrifize them t' Ambition, th' Idol he did inwardly serve, under pretext of sacrifizing them to the Religion he outwardly professed; They did resolve to think of their safety, and not onely by attending th' Evil to repel it, but t' advance for to fight him, and to be the first in the field, where they fore-saw th' Emperor would endeavour to be before them. For that purpose, they made a League at *Smalchald*, which had for principal foundation, the consideration of giving a Coadjutor to *Charls* in th' Administration of th' Empire, and to revive one of the Constitutions of the Golden Charter, which says, *That to divert the Succession of th' Empire, there ought not to be three Emperors successively of one Family.* Th' Emperor, who knew, when there was occasion, how to make use of force and subtilty, seeing that he could not Master the Protestants by surprize, as was his design, made no scruple in taking off his vizard, and in going boldly to them, as 'tis said, with displayed Ensigns; To compass it the more easily, and to make the way to Victory the plainer, He practised a double Artifice, which at th' instant prospered and had a present effect, as h' had projected it; He made it to be reported at *Rome*, that he marched t' oppose th' Heresie, which excessively overflowed, and which had the design to pass from *Germany* int' *Italy*, by the destruction of the true Religion, and upon the Catholiques heads; Nothing could more provoke the spirit of the *Pope*, and stir up his zeal to Religion, which in his person was assaulted; He knew well, that Heresie knocks most particularly at his dore, and that the first Groans and Attempts it had made upon its entry into the world, had been imployed against his Power; He considered, that the number of enemies was great, and apprehended the same fury, He did, when the Troops of *Fustenberg* marched to *Rome*, in the Name, and under th' Authority of *Charls*, a Catholique Prince, and was nevertheless but in his passage; H' had cause also to fear from them the conjunction of the duration to the violence, that came thither in their own name, and under th' Auspitious Motives of Heresie. Wherefore in th' Emperours favour, h' opened the Treasures of the *Vatican*, and them of the Castle of St. *Ange*; Accorded unt' him *Croysades* and *Tenths* in all his Countries, in th' Antient and New World; Commanded great and strong Levies of Men of War to be made, which he sent him, and procured him from all Quarters powerful Reliefs and considerable Subventions. Th' other Artifice was, Considering the great Collection of Men, which the Protestant Party of *Germany* raised, and other Northern Forces, which were of *Smalchald* League; That h' ought to labour the diminution of those Powers, to deprive that League

League of the greateſt number he could of the Princes which were not yet engaged, and t' impede the greatning and ſwelling of that Torrent, by the concourſe and confluence of thoſe Waters that might run into 't; He knew the Nature of Leagues, and their Weakneſs; He knew, that they were made onely for Conſervation and Defence; That in them the moſt Ambitious and moſt Powerful made haſte t' Embark; So that they were the Men, wh' ought to gather the principal fruits of the Victory, and allowing others a ſhare of the Conqueſt, keep to themſelves the moſt rich and fair things of the Body and Spoil; That the moſt Moderate and Weakeſt would engage ſlowly; Theſe, by reaſon of th' Accidents of War, which are always full of obſcurity and incertitude; And th' others, that if Fortune were contrary, and the Veſſel wherein they'd put themſelves ſhould make wrack, they ſhould be the firſt to be carried away by th' ill ſucceſs, as having leaſt Means of reſiſtance, as to be the firſt drowned, as they wh' had on the ſudden neither Boat nor Plank to ſave themſelves. Book III.

And upon this foundation, and to give colour not t' enter into the League, to them who were not very deſirous of Emotion, nor ſo tranſported with hatred againſt him; As the Duke of *Saxe*, and the Lantgrave of *Heſſe*; He withdrew the cauſe of Religion, for which the coldeſt and moſt fearful are accuſtomed to take heat, and to grow bold, and the moſt wicked and the moſt prudent are aſham'd t'appear without Zeal and Violence; This obliged him to give it out in *Germany*, That his Arms were not raiſed againſt the new Religion, and Liberty of Conſciences; That his deſign was onely to ſuppreſs Rebellion, which being hatched in the Heads of the Duke of *Saxe* and of the Lantgrave of *Heſſe*, was diſcovered in th' Empire; That th' intention of thoſe Princes was not to defend or preſerve their Religion, which was neither aſſaulted nor threatned, but to ſuppreſs th' Houſe of *Auſtria*, whereof he was the Chief, and t' Extinguiſh or Appropriate to themſelves th' Empire, whereof his Houſe was the Guardian.

This pretext ſtriking at the root of Rebellion, He made no queſtion, but that it was leſs powerful than it would have been, if the Conſpirators could have covered their deſign with ſo ſpecious a ſail, as that of th' Honor of God, and that the wiſeſt and leaſt intereſſed of the Proteſtants could be content to ſee the firſt ſucceſſes of thoſe Arms, and on what ſide Victory would encline, knowing well, that if it favoured them of their Sect, they ſhould be always welcome amongſt them; and that th' hands of the Society ſhould be alſo ſtretched out unto them; But if th' Heavens declared in favour of *Charls*, and that he triumphed over the Confederate Forces, They did conceive, that the Thunder prepared againſt Rebellion would fall onely on the Conquered wh' had rebelled, and that the vengeance would reſt upon the Borders of their Eſtates, wh' had not acted criminally, nor given Trouble, or excited Revolt. So that th' Emperor

Book III. rour held it for certain, That if nothing were ſtirred up againſt him but what appeared in *Germany*, he ſhould Eaſily overcome it; And that the great Forces he ſaw on foot, reſembled the waters of a Torrent, which deſcend with Pride, and over-flow with Noiſe and Spoil, but run not far, and whereof th' Impreſſions only are ſeen, and th' Evidences of their Violence. To theſe prudent Conſiderations, h' added them of particular Intereſt. To fortifie Virtue, and to Whet the point of it; He made great promiſes of Honour, and of Goods, to th' Ambitious and Covetous, who might b' uſefull to him; And with this Lure, he drew to his party the *Duke Maurice* of *Saxe*, To whom he promiſed th' Electorate, and the Lands of his Cozen, which are to this day in th' hands of th' heirs of his Brother *Auguſtus*. This Age hath brought forth ſomewhat like this, which ſhall be ſpoken of in the Third Part.

As to the Strangers, which the Proteſtants might Engage in their Quarrel, He knew well that there was none, but the *French* King, that could powerfully Aid them, and that could Contribute to ſo great an Expence, and to the Neceſſaries of a long War; That he alone could long Feed that great Monſter, which alwayes Eats without ever being Satisfied, and which wants alwayes ſome neceſſary Food, though there be all provided that Induſtry and Force can Contribute. But for this, he fore-ſaw, that the *Germans* being naturally Valiant and Feirce, and Nouriſhed in an Air like to that of the North, which puffeth up and ordinarily inſpires a good Opinion of themſelves, would move ſlowly to the poſture of Suppliants, and publiſh to the World that they had need of Relief; That they would not demand it, till they ſaw themſelves Loſt, and would not repair to the Remedy, till th' Evil became Stronger than the Remedy, and that oppreſſed Nature had not Force nor Virtue to Support it; That it was the Cuſtom of Princes, whoſe Aid was Implored, to try firſt a Diverſion of th' Evil, and to Conjure down the Tempeſt which fell upon th' Heads of their Allies, by good Offices and Interceſſions, before any Force was raiſed; And by conſequent, That th' Overthrow might be given before any Perſon could appear to Support, and the deadly Stroak before any Hands could be raiſed t' hold th' hands of them that Struck it; And 'tis the Nature of the Relief, which Princes give t' one Another, to prepare ſlowly, To ſend fewer than are neceſſary in th' Judgement of them that ſeek it, and that they are rendred leſs in Number than they are intended by them that ſend them.

That this being common t' all States; In that time, it was particularly ſo to *France*, and that it often loſt its Charges and Loans for not Acting in Time, or not Sending of ſufficient Forces; As to this buſineſs, it did not reſolve t' Act Powerfully, nor to make any great Collection of Monies and Men in favour of the *Germans*, without knowing the Reaſons, under what Conditions, and what the Fruits ſhould be of ſo much Money and of ſo many Lives to

be hazarded; That it would have some security for the Faith of them, with whom it was to make Society; As politique Prudence doth advise, and demanded places of surety for the Retrait of their Armies, and not to remain there the Prey of their Enemies, and the Laughing stock of Friends in case of Disgrace; As the Maxims of War require, and other Conditions of a long Contest and difficult Resolution. Book III.

That it was the Custom of the *Germans* of that Time, t' expect a freer Relief when they had need, than any people in the World; And when all that could be done, was done, to think, that enough had not been done for them, and that the Debt of doing more did remain on our score; That it would Trouble them to resolve upon giving places of surety for the Retrait of th' Armies, which should March to relieve them; To Bridle themselves by Voluntary Block-houses, and to make Wounds in th' Empire which peradventure could never be healed; That if the Providence for the future, and the present Constitution required, that the *French* should be Accommodated with some place to secure their Return, when they should b' Engaged in anothers Country, The *Germans* might have Jealousie of their design, and fear lest under an apparent Protection, the *French* should introduce amongst them a Visible Usurpation, and repel one Servitude in the precipitating of them into another; That such an Apprehension would make them Agree without the *French*, when they might do it with an Advantage, and to Leave the *French* in the Dirt, when they had got out of it, and by th' Aid of them; That such a Pretext would not be wanting to turn against their Liberators, and to pass from the Defection t' Hostility, and of Unfaithfull Confederates to become Declared Enemies.

That *France* would make good Pawses upon all this Matter, and deliberate long before it did Embarque in so high an Enterprize, and in so Jealous an Expedition; And by Consequent, he promised himself t' have Dissipated that great Body of Tumultuary Troops, which made the Protestants so Proud, and t' have Annihilated th' Enemies League, before it could find a forein Relief, or that *France* would stir in their Aid. This prospered with him as he did Project it, and h' had then Finished, what h' had happily begun, and which h' had above half done, if h' had not been hindred by the Causes which have been in other places reported. To this League another succeeded, under the Direction of th' *Elector Maurice* of *Saxe*; It was truly wiser than the former, and th' Entery of *Henry* the second into *Germany*, and th' Apparition of that new Star, which in some sort might be said t' have hastned the setting of th' Emperour, and darkned his Light, gave them such a Fright, that he sought an Accommodation with the Protestants, and offered such advantagious Conditions, provided they would quit the *French* protection, that they Accepted of them, and made their Peace at *Passau*, without Comprizing of the King of *France*, who did perso-

Book III. nally assist them; They made it also without remembring the two Princes, whom they'd given him for Hostages; And he restored them to their Liberty, with as high a generosity, as the confidence h' had expressed unto them, In asking no other gages of their Faith, nor n' other earnest of their Constancy. It had not been sufficient for *Maurice* t' have Violated his Faith, and failed so Magnanimous a Protector; He who betrayed his own Blood, and made War t' his Cozen *Frederick*, to gain his Countries and *Electorat* Dignity from him, If to Compleat his Baseness, and Crown his Ingratitude, H' had not | alsʃ Accorded to th' Emperour that the Troops of the League should march for his Service, and b' imployed against *France*, which had so much Contributed to make them Victorious, and to free *Germany* from Servitude.

In the year 1552.

The Pretext the *Germans* made use of, t' excuse that foul proceeding, and the Plaister they used to Cover that black Spot, was the Recovery of the City of *Metts*, which *Henry* the second had taken in his March, with the Consent of the Bishop and People, who chose rather to Live under the Government of a Just and Powerfull Monarch, as was *Henry*, than under the Tyranny and Weakness of many Masters, as were the Majestrates who Governed it. The King having taken the Wind of th' Infidelity of *Maurice*, whose Interessed and Changeable humour was not unknown to him, and fore-seeing of future Tempests that might break upon *France*, believed that the least he could do, was to Seize upon some Important place, to put a Bridle into th' Easiness of the Confederates Mouths, and t' hinder them from breaking, for fear of losing that place; And in all Accidents, to Secure and Strengthen his Frontier at their Charges, for whose Security h' had hazarded his Country, and exposed his Life, and the Lives of his Subjects so Liberally for their defence. That was but very Just, and therein nothing done but what the Right of Nature permitted, and the Law did Command. And truly, he that Remembers by what Title and Pretext th' Emperour did seize upon *Cambray* and *Constance*, which were Imperial Towns, and that it was done only to make *Cambray* a Rampar against *France*, and *Constance* a Bridle to curb the *Suisses*, would have Judged the King too delicate, and too weak, if upon better Foundations, and stronger Considerations, h' had made scruple to take Possession of a City, whose greater part of Citizens did Invite him thither with earnest Desires, and to March within their Walls, after they had Lodged him in their Hearts and Affections.

All the Forces then of th' Emperour were drawn towards *Metts*, the Rock, against which th' Emperours Fortune was broken, and where he began t' understand, that it was necessary for him to Leave the World, where he could not be, what he had been, and descend from the Theatre, where he could no longer appear but in the posture of an Unfortunate Prince, and as th' Example of Fortune.

The

The March to *Ranty* finished the Piece, and the fear h' had there to be taken, as infallibly h' had been by *Sir* of *Guise*, if one of the Commanders of the Kings Army had not caused the Retraict to be sounded in th' heat of Fight, and confidence of the Victory; The fear, I say, which *Charls* had of that Accident, confirmed him in that noble and bold Resolution, which h' had taken, to Leave the World, and to Renounce Ambition, th' Empire, and so great a Number of Kingdomes; He well saw, that by th' Experiences h' had made, and by the Disgraces h' had received since th' Acces of *Henry* to the Crown, that the Genius of that Prince was Superiour t' his, and that h' ought not t' oppose his declining Age, and th' infirmities of old Age, to the growing Vigour of a flourishing Youth; He considered, that *Henry* was in Power t' affront him in War; That h' had alwaies th' Advantage of him in Negotiations and Treaties; That h' avoided the Nets were set for him at *Rome*, and in their Councils; And having dissipated the Practices that were hatched there, to stirr up all the Catholique *Christendome* against him, h' had the Dexterity to cast the Protestant part of *Germany* on th' *Emperours* back. Book III.

Behold then *Charls* out of the World, wherein h' had made so much Noise, and disordered so many things; behold his Monarchical design fallen, and the three Countries in safety, any of which might have served for a Plank, if h' had Conquered it, to pass him to the Conquest of the rest. But what is most considerable, and the greatest Treachery that Fortune ever plaid him, Is, That while he Lived, he saw th' Empire transferred out of his House, and to pass into th' House of his younger Brother; That he saw that Breach, and had not the Power to prevent it, and his Power and Credit unprofitably imployed to repair it. The *Germans* Inclination t' have no Emperour but of their Nation, and the Necessity h' had of them in the Wars h' had in hand, obliged him to Consent, that his Brother should be named King of the *Romans*; He did indeed consent, Conceiving in time, either that *Ferdinand* should give the Demission in favour of his Son, or to cause his Son to be named King of the *Romans*, in quitting th' Empire to his Brother.

But *Ferdinand*, wh' had remembred all things that might raise him to that Dignity, and for that End, had been very Pliant to the *Germans*, even to the prejudice of his Conscience, And who saw himself reproached at *Rome*, in the Person of his Ambassadors, That h' had made way to th' Empire by the disdain of Religion, and by th' Injuries h' had permitted to be done him, would not willingly devest himself of a thing, which h' had so dearly bought, and h' had too much passion for his Son, to preferr his Nephew before him in th' highest Dignity of *Christendome*.

Insomuch, that th' Emperour having sent before his Retreat, the Queen of *Hungary* his Sister to *Ferdinand*, and *Maximilian* his Son, t' obtain either a Demission of the Kingdome of the *Romans*, or a

Book III. Subſtitution to the ſame Kingdome in favour of his Son *Philip*, ſubmitted to what he could not Avoid, attended the Deſtiny which had Enthralled him, and delivered th' Empire to his Brother, which he could not ſettle upon the Perſon of his Succeſſor.

Sixth Diſcourſe.

That Philip *the Second applied himſelf principally to the gaining of* France, *t' open the way t' himſelf of the Monarchy; That his Succeſſors have Endeavoured t' Eſtabliſh themſelves in th' heart of* Germany, *to make th' Empire return to their Houſe, and paſs from thence to the Monarchy.*

Philip the Second was ſick, as his Succeſſors have been, of *Charls*'s paſſion, and was in Love with the Monarchy, as a part of his Heritage; but inſomuch that *England* which had much Aided th' Advance of his deſigns, had taken the Wing, and that th' Empire which would have furniſhed him with Pretexts and Forces, for th' Execution of many great Enterprizes, had failed him; He gave reſt for a time t' his Paſſion, and made no other Paſſion t' appear than for the Conſervation of what his Father had left him, and to fix what he found Changeable in his Countries; He gained indeed at that time ſome Eminent advantages from *Henry the Second*, which had the ſame Effect upon the Son it had upon the Father, and which paid for the breach of the Truce, wherein *Sirs* of *Guiſe*, the *Dutcheſs* of *Valentinois*, and the *Caraffs* did ſeduce him, by the Loſs of the Battels of St. *Quentin*, and of *Graveline*, and by the Peace made at the Caſtle of *Cambreſis*, where he Delivered up in one day, what could not have been taken from him in many years, and opened the Gate of Civil Wars in *France*, and ſhut it for the benefit of their Enemies, ſince the ſucceſs of the diſcovery of th' *Indies*, which made him Depopulate *Spain*, and Exchange Men, whereof h' had great need, for Money, whereof h' had not ſo great Need. The *Flemiſh* Defection, which he could not prevent by his Power, though h' Enjoyed ſo many Kingdoms, nor by his Wiſdome, though he was called the *Solomon* of his Age; And the Mutinous and Unquiet humour of the *Mores*, gave ſome allay to his great Deſign, and abated in him that Monarchique Spirit, which had ſo vexed *Charls* the Fifth.

But ſo ſoon as h' heard the Noiſe, that the differences of Religion made, and ſaw the Troubles, which the Civil Wars had raiſed amongſt us; H' awakened a Deſire, which was but laid Aſleep; H' Embrac'd the occaſion which did Smile upon him; He reſolved to Cut out the way to the premeditated greatneſs through the

the Ruins of *France*; He conceived that he could not Work upon a Richer ſtuff for th' uſe he had propoſed; That he might find amongſt us, what h' unprofitably ſought amongſt others; And the *Spaniards* having ordinarily that Advantage of us, which grows from the Temperament of the Body, and from the Conſtitution of the Climate, t' Act with more fore-ſight than the *French*; Th' Abundance of Wealth and Men, whereof this Kingdome cannot b' Emptied, would Cure them of a Defect, to which w' are not ſubject, in making the preparations of their Enterprizes with great Slowneſs and deſtructive Length. But this hath not as yet hapned, and the ſame Providence, which to this Time hath not permitted Men to cut the Iſtmes and the Streights that ſever the Seas, which God would have divided, hath not permitted th' Advantages which one Nation hath upon another, to Conjoyn with duration under the Power of a ſingle Perſon; Though *Philip* ſet all ſorts of Engines in Motion, and imployed all manner of Work-men, he could never make ſuch a Conjunction; And *France* could not become his Prey, though it was his Envy, and he could not Enjoy it, though he was paſſionately in Love with it; And having loſt great Forces, and thrown away many Millions amongſt us; having Traffiqued much, and made much War in *France*, and ſtirred up the good and bad Religion t' attain his Ends; nothing remained of Conſolation t' him in the failer of the true matter of his Arms, and Practices imployed for th' uſurpation of the Crown, but the Beauty of the Pretext, by 'ndeavouring to give us a Catholique King. Book III.

For the Diverſion of the *Reader*, I will here obſerve, and for an illuſtrious Example of the Vanity of Greatneſs and Inſtability of human affairs; That 'tis hardly poſſible to find a Life more Interwoven with good and bad, and more Embrodered with happy and unhappy Accidents, than the Life of *Philip*. 'Tis certain, that if he got much one way, he loſt much another way; And that if one part of his Deſigns hath proſpered, another part hath miſ-carried, and become abortive; Th' Accompliſhment of his Marriage with the Queen of *England*, which Encountred with ſo many Contradictions and Difficulties; The Victories of St. *Quentin*, and of *Graveline*, whereof it hath been already ſpoken; The Re-eſtabliſhment of the Duke of *Savoy*, ſtripped for th' Intereſts of his Houſe, and the *French* forced from *Italy*; ſo many Countries Conquered, and Mines diſcovered in the *Weſt-Indies*; the Succeſſion of *Portugal* with its Dependences, which he ſecured by his Arms againſt five famous Confederates; The ſuppreſſion of the Privileges and Liberty of th' *Arragons*; The defeat of the *Mores*; The gain of the Battail of *Lepantha*, wherein h' had ſo great a ſhare, and the Re-taking of *Thumis* and *Gouletta*, are indeed great Succeſſes, and will make a Noiſe to the Worlds End.

But on th' other ſide, the Death of the Queen of *England* without Children, and by Conſequent, the Poſſeſſion of that fair Kingdome

Book III. dome Eclipſed; The loſs of the true Religion in the *Low-Countreys*, without preſerving, as our Kings have done, the faith and obedience due t'him; *France* delivered out of his hands, when he held it as taken; Th'Aſſault of *Gelves*, and the Landing of his Troops in *Ireland*, which were unhappy t'him; And th'Invincible Armado, that would have put *England* to the Chain, and for which the Rodomonts it carried, ſaid, That they deſired no more of God, than that he would not meddle in that Affair, and Leave them to themſelves; That Invincible, I ſay, Armado, that was but the ſport of a grain of wind, and th'Example of the greateſt Shipwrack that th'Ocean hath diſgraced ſince the time of *Tiberius*. In a word, of the three places, which his Father had recommended unt'him to keep with greateſt Care and Jealouſie, as the Key of *Spain*, of the *Low-Countreys*, and of *Africa*; *Cadis* was taken by th'*Engliſh*; *Fluſhing* by th'*Hollanders*; and the *Goulete* by *Boſha Pialy*. Theſe diſgraces nevertheleſs, and this variety of Accidents, took not from him that Reputation which hath flown through all the places of th'Earth, and which will be repeated in all th'Ages of the World, And as no wonder or new thing; ſince it hath been the deſtiny of the greateſt part of great perſons to b'expoſed to the flux and reflux of Fortune, and to dye rich in honour after many Loſſes. Though it was the Progreſs and Cataſtrophe of *Philips* Life, He could not forbear to turn his Eyes towards the Monarchy, and to caſt ſome Glances upon *Germany* the Seat of th'Empire, which is the Foundation and Centre; It was, it may be, to ſhew his Succeſſors the way they ought to follow t'attain it, and the ſtring by which they might recall and bring th'Empire to their Houſe; from thence proceeded th'Expedition of th'Admiral of *Arragon* beyond the *Rhyne*, whereof ſhall be fully ſpoken in the third part, in the Treaty of the Succeſſion of *Cleves*; from thence iſſued the Renewing of the ſame Enterprize by *Spinola*, under th'Archdukes of *Flanders*, and under *Philip* the third; And though both of theſe Expeditions had a nearer End, which was the Communication of *Germany* and the *Low-Countreys*, and the Conveniency of making War with moſt Advantage to their Enemies, and to draw them into their Chanels and Rivers, yet the *Spaniards*, whoſe ſpirits are alwaies much vexed with future Conſiderations, and in all their Actions, have more than one mark to ſhoot at, beſides the Particular and preſent Deſign, had alſo in memory th'other General, and more forein deſign, t'open the way for themſelves to th'Empire, and to the Monarchy.

The Succeſſors of *Philip* did not ſuddenly caſt themſelves upon ſo vaſt Enterprizes, nor diſcover Deſigns that would much enlarge their Domination and Limits; And to the Time of the Kings Death, the *Low-Countreys* were the Field wherein they did moſt exerciſe their Armes, and where they've moſt appeared; Sometimes in the Quality of Aſſaulters, and ſometimes in the Quality of Defendants. A little before, and preſently after the Death of that Prince, wh'of right was called the *Great*, and to whom amongſt all our Kings the Title

of

of Incomparable was Justly due; if h' had not left a Successor that did Equal him. The *Spanish* Armes raised Troubles, and occasioned some Innovation in *Germany* upon the Succession of *Cleves*; But their Armes were Chiefly exercised in *Piedmont* against the Duke of *Savoy*, and they made their strongest Assaults to strip that Prince, and to Ceize upon th' Intermedium, which severs *France* from *Italy*; This bloudy Game wherein *France* Acted sometimes with Faintings and Weakness, and sometimes with Force, and with some strains of Courage, continued to the Troubles of *Bohemia*, and to the last Emotions of *Germany*; Th'Empire also from *Charls* the fifths time to that time, had so much Changed from what it was, that nothing almost remained, but the Name and Armes, and instead of that proud and high flight, which their Eagles heretofore made and have since done, they did now beat only with one Wing. Book III.

But after that the Count *Palatine* had begun that famous Quarrel, which could not b' ended by the fighting of above fifteen Battels, and Angred them, whom since he could, neither overcome nor appease; when he had taken *Bohemia* from th'Emperor, and carried the War into the Heart of *Austria*, and to the Suburbs of *Vienna*; The two *Austrian* Powers being United, had speedily their Revenge of that Affront, and having changed the Course of th' Action, and turned their Defence into an Assault, thrust out the Victory with so great Advantage, that they were within little of the Compleating of it, in seeing it Crowned with th'Entire Conquest of *Germany*, That without doubt had hapned, if th' Impatient greedines of the *Spaniards*, as hath often been expressed, had not made them forget that old Maxim which was so familiar with them; *Never t' undertake New Conquests, till the first had been well setled.* And if the Countries of the Duke of *Mantoua*, which in apparence ought t' have changed their Master, Had not made them quit the Certainty, for th' Uncertainty, and t' Hazard what they Possessed in *Germany*, t' Usurp what they could not take in *Italy*.

But let's leave th' Affairs of the Duke of *Mantoua* to the third part, and take up the Designs of the Kings of *Spain* to cause th' Empire to return to their House, and to put under the Wings of those Eagles, what they had in their Possession, and to Joyn, what they did not Possesse, and was necessary to make up the Wheel of their Monarchy. They well saw, That after they were Possest of th' Avenues, and had Ceized upon the Borders of *Germany*, That if they advanced but slowly in that great and vast Countrey, The business would be too long, and that upon the way they should meet with so many Rubs and Impediments, that they might peradventure be Constrained to stay or retire. That did not divert them, from the project of Invading the *Voltoline* for the Communication of *Italy* with *Germany*, and t'establish themselves beyond the *Rhyne* for the Comerce of *Germany* with the *Low-Countries*. As to the first, th' Inhabitants of the *Voltoline*, whom they'd long prepared to Revolt against the *Grisons*,

Book III. *sons*, their Soveraigns, and the grain of Discord which they had there Sown and Husbanded with great Care, made them believe that they should alwayes find the Door open there, when they'd a Mind t' enter, and that the pledges would remain in their hands during the Contestation of the Parties. As to the second, the Death of the Duke of *Cleves* without Children, and the Concurrency of many Pretenders to that Rich Succession, put it out of Question, that if they did not possesse themselves of all the Countrey, yet they should gain some Important Member, and some Considerable peece. But their Providence carried them further, and by an Intrigue Contrived with much Subtilty; and Cherish ed with Constancy in the Family of the Princes of th'other Branch of their House, They endeavoured to fix themselves in th'Heart of *Germany* to gain there great Countreys; To take away the great stone of scandal, and the fatal Obstacle, which hindred them from Attaining th'Empire; That they were Strangers to th'Empire, and no Members of the *German* Body.

Two Principal Considerations gave them Courage to frame this Design, and to Contrive th' Intrigue; The first the Weakness th' Empire was fallen into since the Death of *Charls* the fifth, and th'use the present Emperors had of their Aid and Protection against the fervent Invasions of the *Turk*, wherewith *Hungary* was much annoyed, and against th'Enterprises of Protestants, who were held at Bay, and hindred to stir for fear of their Powers; The second Consideration was, th'Imbecillity of th' Understanding, and base Inclinations of th'Emperour *Rodolphus*, under whose Reign the Peace begins, which shall shortly be set forth. His Brother *Mathias*'s humour being alwayes unquiet, and to whom Novelty, troubles and disorders were vvonderfull Baits to carry him any vvhither; And th' humors of the tvvo younger Brothers, *Maximilian* and *Albert*, vvh' had neither Action nor Vigour, and vvere vvholly for Dependency in a Submission, and a blind obedience.

On th'other side, The Genius of *Ferdinand* th' Archduke of *Grets* their Cozen, and Brother in Law of *Philip* the third, bred to Devotion, and by the Custome of Dependency upon Spiritual Things, much disposed to be Governed, and to permit Direction in Temporal Things; And no marvel, since it often happens that one of the Dependencies draws on th' other, as well on their part who submit and follow, as of them who Govern and Conduct, and not being content with so absolute and delicate a Domination, as that which is exercised upon th'understanding, cannot forbear from enlarging of it upon material Objects; And if they make not firm and durable Usurpations in that Province, to make there at least from time to time, Irruptions and Incursions; And in Relation to th' objects themselves which are often much Complicated, and Mixed and Composed of what regards th' Understanding, and Concerns the Matter, and in which by Consequent, their Princes have no less need of the Councel of Conscience, than of Councel of State, and to b' enlightned with

Lights

Lights of Christian Morality, as with the Lights of Policy. So- Book III.
that though *Ferdinand* naturally loved Justice, and hated Improbity, It was no difficult thing to perswade him to Consent to things, which justled Justice and Probity, in Colouring of them with th' Apparences of Religion, and in gilding them with the Pretext of the greatest glory of God.

Besides, That Prince had a Weakness, to which all of his disposition are Subject, being of a benign Nature and sweet Temper, not to resist a long Importunity. The *Spaniards* easily foreseeing, that Assaulting him in that place they should gain divers things, to which H had an Aversion, and Accord them, to Redeem himself from Vexation. And for to Compel him to yield, It was necessary only to redouble their batteries, and to summon him often to yield, which frequently hapned; As it also fell out, That in Consideration of his zeal for Religion, of his Love for Justice and other good Qualities in that Prince, God sent him prosperities, which had no mixture or proportion of Moral virtues; And for the punishment of his defects and weaknesses, which he permitted to be th' Organs and Instruments of other Mens passions, he sent him such violent disgraces, that he thrice saw himself within a little of being lost without Remedy, and upon the brim of a Precipice from whence no person falling in, recovers himself; but at last good Successes carried him over all disgraces, and H' had this Satisfaction before Death, to see the Promotion of his Son to the Kingdome of the *Romans*, though it was held unlawfull, and the greatness of his House in some safety, and in some good condition of Subsistence.

Let's Resume, what we have quitted; *Ferdinand* had a Brother called *Leopold*, who was not truly a Prince of high Understanding, nor of great Ambition, nor Unfurnisht of Common Sense and Martial Heat, and obliged to depend, as younger, on the Motions of his Elder Brother. The *Spaniards* Judged also, That He would b' obliged to depend on them, who gave the Law t' Actions, and to th'others Conduct, and that He might b' a proper Instrument t' advance the Designs they had on the *Grisons* Liberties, and for th' Usurpations of the *Voltolines*.

Seventh Discourse.

In what manner the Successors of Philip *Endeavoured t' establish themselves in* Germany; *The Motives which obliged the* Bohemians *to withdraw themselves from the Government of th' Emperour* Ferdinand, *and to call th' Elector* Palatine *to the Crown of* Bohemia.

THe Conditions of these Princes carefully observed, as hath been said, and in strength and weakness well known to the *Spaniards*,

Book III. They began to Work at their Business, and to give Fire to their Artifices, whilst *Rodolphus* made a Shop, and forge of his Cabinet, and reduced all his Emperial Thoughts into the search of the Philosophers Stone, and to make Watches and Dialls. They made a Treaty with *Paul* the fifth, and with th' *Archdukes*, by which, And all for the Conservation and Exaltation of the Catholique Religion, It was resolved with a Common consent, to declare to *Rodolphus*, *That he Dying without issue Male Lawfully begot, Th' Eldest of th' House of* Austria *should succeed him in his Hereditary Countries; which Declaration being made, He would Endeavour to cause him to be chosen King of the* Romans, *lest th' Empire should fall into th' Hands of the Protestants, but if this could not b' Effected, He would declare him King of* Bohemia; *That this Protestation should be made to th' Emperour with an Army, to Compell the* Bohemians *t' Accept of this Declaration, in case of Refusal, and the Confederates bound themselves t' Aid him with Moneyes and Men, if they were thereunto required.*

In the year 1606.

In this business, the *Pope*'s zeal is excusable, wh' had truly for his End the Conservation and Exaltation of the Catholique Religion, whereof He was th' Head, who believed, that it could not receive a more dangerous wound, than in permitting th' Imperial Crown to sit upon an Heretiques Head; And to whom, without question, Advice was given, that th' Election of the Kingdom of *Bohemia* was an Usurpation made by the *Bohemians*, whereof they ought to be delivered, and an Invasion of the People upon the Right of it, which they would restore t' its Original. Moreover, *Popes* pretend to some right of Superiority and Superintendency over the Matters of th' Empire, and which concern th' Electors, whereof one of them is King of *Bohemia*. They pretend t' have been the Founders of th' Empire of the West, and that *Leon* the third made the separation of the Body of those Countries, which belonged to the *Grecian* Emperours, and gave to *Charlemain* the Western parts, as Members at too great distance from their Head, to receive any Influences or Life. They call themselves th' Establishers of th' Electoral College, and th' Authors of reducing the Suffrages to the present Number, for th' Election of th' Emperours; Thus one *Lonigy* amongst the Modern Writers, hath published it, not Problematically, as a Thing to be disputed, but Affirmatively, and by positive Resolutions, in th' Aphorisms which he published at *Rome* upon the promotion of th' Electorate to the Duke of *Bavaria*, when he sent to Demand the Confirmation of it, to *Gregory* the Fifth. Upon these Foundations, and with these Titles, *Popes* presume to mingle safety with th' Affairs of th' Empire, and that they are bound to provide that what is of their Institution, and hath issued from th' Authority of th' *Holy Chair*, turn not to the prejudice of the Church, and make waste in Gods Vineyard, committed to their Charge. Whether Popes are well or ill setled in those Pretensions, and whether there are pertinent Replies, and just Exceptions to those Aphorisms,

Gregory the Fifth.

'Tis

'Tis the business of interessed Persons, and not mine, to make the discoveries. I say only, that in Case these pretensions are probable, and likely, they're secure from Injustice and Unbelief, when they're to b' used; And that Opinions truly probable are sufficient Principles t' Act Lawfully and with a good Conscience, as I shall make it appear in the Third Part. Book III.

But as to the *Spaniards*, as they had another End, than that of Religion, or at least, that they did but Obliquely look upon it; I know not, how their Proceedings can b' Excused, or the Violence Sweetned, that gave Trouble to the Peace of th' Emperour and Empire; They were busie where they had no right of Intervention, and entred by a Breach, when they could not enter at the Gate. I know not by what Law of Conscience they could raise a Subject against his Soveraign; How they could make *Mathias* a Felon against his Brother *Rodolphus*, and Compel him with a strong hand and with a raised Arm t' Act *Mathias*'s Will, though it were Just, though it were Holy; nor by what Right of Nations they could deprive a Kingdome from all times Elective, of the Liberties and Customs, which were not unknown to them, and Violate the Privileges, which to that time had been Inviolable.

But if in this, as in many other things, they would Cover themselves with their old Cloak, and say, that it was still to pare the Wings of Heresie, and to Cut off its way, lest it should pass further into *Germany*; To that, Answer may be given, That th' End was good, but the Means were not, and that they took a way to gain it, wherein were so many ill passages to get over, and so many precipices t' avoid, That there was as much cause of Fear as of Joy, In behalf of Religion, and th' hazard betwixt Gain and Loss, was equally uncertain; That in matters of Religion, th' Heavens ought t' Act, and Providence to Govern; And an Entire submission ought to be given to that Power, which Conducts things to their Ends, according to the good pleasure of its Will, and not according to mens Fancies; That it did not belong to them to Command the Times, which were not Ordained in the decrees of th' Eternal Councils, nor t' hasten the Maturity of Accidents, which appear only in their Season, and discover themselves in th' Appointed hours of their Time; That they were to be Confined to the Limits of the received Order of things, and in Obedience, not to Wander from the Common Right, nor t' Honour God by Vice, or to seek his Glory in the way of Injustice, Violence, and Breach of Faith. Nevertheless, by this proceeding of the *Spaniards* may be seen, how Licentious their Appetite is of Governing, and their Ambition boundless; How Active and Destructive that fire is, and Nourished with all sorts of Materials; That it Consumes not only them that are not of Relation to them, but Burns their own Parents, and dissolves the Cement of Blood, and of Alliances. Lets return to our Subject.

Book III. When the Plot ſpoken of was formed, and the Conſpiracy reſolved upon againſt *Rodolpe*, Th' Evidences thereof were ſuddenly Viſible, and *Mathias* made haſte to give them credit by memorable Attempts; And for that purpoſe, he Commanded th' Army to march towards *Prague*, where th' Emperour was, which had been raiſed in *Goritia*; And having, as it were Encloſed him in that Capital City of *Bohemia*, He ſent him, in that Poſture, and with that Equipage, the Proteſtation which had been agreed with the *Spaniards* and the *Pope*. What ſhould a Diſarmed poor-Spirited and Ignorant Man do, as *Rodolphus* was, in the ſtreight wherein h' had ſhut himſelf, but receive the Law from him, wh' had Power to give it, and to yield to th' yoak, that was forced over his Head? An Agreement then was made in the Moneth of *June*, in the year 1608. by which it is ordained; *That he deliver up to his Brother* Mathias, *the Crown of* Hongary, *the Scepter, the Royal Hat, and th' other Ornaments which were carried unto him by the Cardinal* Dietrechthien; *That he reſerved for himſelf the Title of that Kingdome, to bear it Joyntly with* Mathias; As alſo he did relinquiſh unt' him the Lower and Higher *Auſtria*, whereof he retained only the Title, diſcharging th' Inhabitants of the Country from their Oath of Fidelity, which they had Sworn unto him, and Conſents, that the ſaid *Archduke* ſhould be nominated Heir to the Crown of *Bohemia*, in Caſe he Died without Heir Male, and all this to be done without prejudice to the States of the Kingdome, in their Right of Election and other Privileges. The States of the ſaid Kingdome conſented to the ſaid future Succeſſion upon two Conditions, which were, That no prejudice ſhould be done to their Privileges, and that the ſaid *Archduke*, during the Life of his Imperial Majeſty, ſhould not in any ſort meddle with the Government of the ſaid Kingdome, nor with the Provinces Incorporated to it; And in Caſe he did, that he ſhould be deprived, and forfeit the Right of Nomination, which was Accorded unto him, and that he ſhould Entitle himſelf only, the deſigned King of *Bohemia*. *Rodolphus* was not Entirely degraded by this Treaty, nor the Liberty of the *Bohemians* wholly ſuppreſſed; There's alwaies a middle betwixt two Extremes, and ſome kind of diſtance to paſs from th' one to th' other. All the Wounds which are received, do not Kill a man ſuddenly, and the Vigour, which that people Expreſſed, and the Reſiſtance they made in th' Occaſion, ſecured to th' Emperour and them, the Remainder of Liberty which appeared in that Treaty. The boldneſs of *Mathias*, and the practices of the *Spaniards*, ſtaid not there, and ſtopped not in ſo fair a way. They had not begun ſo well without Reſolution to purſue it, nor ſo happily Entred upon their buſineſs without finiſhing of it; The Dye was caſt, And it was an Inviolable deſtiny in their Judgment, t' Aboliſh the Right of Election in the States of *Bohemia*, and to make that Kingdome Succeſſive and Hereditary; For that purpoſe, it was thought neceſſary to vex the *Bohemians*;

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Their yoak was to be made heavier, and their Servitude larger. All obstacles were to be broken, and all Gates opened that opposed that design. The Cardinal *Clessel*, *Rodolphus*'s Confident, and Governour of th' Affairs of *Bohemia*, made a great Opposition against them in the Councels, and feared not to resist them publiquely, and break all their Stratagems; It was the Cause that *Mathias* at the suggestion of the Count of *Ognate*, the Catholique Kings Ambassadour, caused him to b' Imprisoned, unknown to th' Emperours and without any Consent of the *Nonce* resident in that Court; And thus having disarmed *Rodolphus* of his faithfull and bold Minister of State, and taking down that head, which infused vigour and understanding into the *Bohemians*, he thought to reduce them easily to what they desired. Book III.

After these Actions of *Mathias* above spoken of, and th' Innovations h' Introduced in th' Emperours Court; after h' had there done for a time all that he would do, and Governed at his pleasure th' Empire under the Name and Authority of his brother, He came at last to his desire; but he was no sooner setled in his Throne, whereunto the *Spaniards* had aided him t' ascend, but they made him t' Adopt his Cozen *Ferdinand*, to th' Exclusion of *Maximilian* and *Albert* his Brothers, and declare him his Successor t' *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and th' Hereditary States.

This Declaration was not barren and vain, it was attended with its effect, as the Lightning is sometimes with the Thunder; *Mathias* caused *Ferdinand* to come to *Prague* by deceit, and with Mony, but more effectively by the power of th' Army h' had in *Bohemia*; He compelled *Ferdinand* to Crown him King of *Bohemia*, leaving out the word of Election, and without any Apparence of th' Intervention of the States Authority, which was the work the *Spaniards* aimed at, and for which they had long given themselves much trouble; The Complement of the business, and the Conclusion of it was, *That they made a Transaction with* Ferdinand, *by which it was resolved*, *That th' Election of the Kingdoms of* Hungary *and of* Bohemia *should b' abolished*, *and that the King of* Spain *should succeed to those Kingdoms*, *in case of default of the strait Masculine Line of* Ferdinand; *Provided*, *That the King of* Spain *should relinquish all the Rights h' had in that Country in Title of Granchild of th' Eldest of that House*. In the year 1617.

Whereupon 'tis to b' observed, that all this was done and concluded betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Ferdinand*, with full Power, and pure Violence, and without the knowledge or participation of the States of those Kingdoms, which are Elective; And it was th' occasion of a great displeasure conceived by the *Bohemians*, when it was made known to them, and the great stone of scandal, against which they struck, and which carried them to the Resolution they afterward took, to reject *Ferdinand* from being their King, and to call int' his place *Frederick Count Palatine*, under whom was framed in *Germany* an Intricacy of Affairs, which five and twenty years of War could not dissolve; And that a thousand new Accidents, which every

Book III. every day arise, forbid the wisest Men to discover th' Events, and the way to get out of that Labyrinth. That the Transaction was the principal and most violent Motive of th' Insurrection of the *Bohemians*, appears by the Declaration of the States of *Bohemia*, upon the rejection of *Ferdinand*, of the 23[d] of *May* 1618. by which they complained amongst other things, That there was an endeavour to transport the Kingdom t' another House; It appears by the Letter, which th' Elector *Palatine* wrote to th' Emperor the 25[th] of *June* in the same year, wherein he says expresly, That th' Authors of those Troubles were Persons, who sought th' Improvement of some Forein Greatness, and represents the Troubles which the Provinces of th' Empire would feel, if Strangers were Introduc'd, as had been done in the Dutchy of *Juliers*. It appears also by the Declaration made by the *Bohemians* in the year 1619. upon th' Election of *Frederick* the First, wherein they clearly said, That *Ferdinand* endevour'd to translate the Kingdom of *Bohemia* under a Forein Power.

But since there's nothing so easie as t' Accuse and Disguise an Accusation; That every Person flatters himself in his own Cause, which h' adjusts and beautifies as he pleaseth; And that the Paper receives what is imprinted upon it, as a Glass doth represent all that is set before it. Let's produce the testimony of *Ferdinand*, and the proofs h' hath furnished to the *Bohemians* Complaints; 'Tis certain, that his Predecessors speaking of their States ever put this Expression, *of our Kingdomes and Hereditary Provinces*; The word Hereditary Accompanying onely the Provinces and not the Kingdomes; He Transposed the word to the beginning of the Clause, that he might Fixe and Incorporate himself upon the Kingdomes as Provinces, and made it thus, *of our Hereditary Kingdomes and Provinces*; And in his Monitory Letters of the 30. *April* 1620. against th'Elector *Palatin*, by which he summons him to Leave in a Month, *The Kingdome of* Bohemia, *and pretends that that Crown was fallen to him by Natural and Successive Right.*

There was another Cause, which was doubtless known to the *Bohemians*, and obliged them to change their Master, and to seek another yoak than *Ferdinands*, whose person otherwise was not unacceptable to them; 'Tis the strong and Implacable Aversion that Prince had against Heresies, and th'hot and burning zeal t'Exterminate them out of his Dominions, and in all places where his Authority was acknowledged. At twenty years of Age, He made a vow t' our Lady of *Loretta*; He renewed it at th' Age of forty three, to our Lady of *Celles*, which is betwixt *Austria* and *Styria*, and Confirmed it a little before his Death by the Report of Father *Lamorman* in that Book of the Virtues of that Emperour. The Zeal truly of seeing the Ruine of Heresies, and of placing living stones in the Temple of God, t' use the words of th' Apostle, is very Commendable in it self, and t'have no sense thereof is to be wholly deprived of Charity towards ones Neighbour, which is one of th'Ends of Christianity; There must be

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a want of Piety to the Church, to which Heretiques make War; No Love for the Glory of God, which is Prophaned by Fable Worship. But though this Zeal may be as hot in th' Heart, as it should be, and burn within; Though it may be much inflamed in it's Principle; yet it ought not t'appear but Tempered with Discretion, nor break out but by measure and Rule; It ought not to procure its End but by convenient means; by the waies which God hath ordained, or hath left to Prudence to make Choice of; Above all, he may b' assured that its Operations are ordinarily better effected by gentle and peaceable, than by violent and bloody hands. And suppose it to be an ill Invention, to Kill instead of Healing, and to pull down an Edifice t'hinder the burning of it; That in Truth, there are Constitutions and Encounters, where strong Remedies are to be used to stop the Contagion of Diseases which gather, and where Houses are broke down to prevent the fire, which they cannot put out from burning of others mens houses, and consume that which might have been preserved. In this, I have given some Rules in the first part, and in several places, I say, somewhat of it here and there, as I conceive it necessary, and as th' Abuses, which I see there Acted oblige me. Book III.

But 'tis Chiefly necessary, in kindling that Zeal in the Spirit of Princes, t'infuse also convenient Lights for their Conduct. And what I have said in other places ought to b' observed, and cannot too often be remembred, *That great Persons cannot commit small faults, nor General Causes removed by small Ruines. Sebastian*, the last King but one of *Portugal*, before that Kingdome was subdued to the Power of *Spain*, is a very Remarkable Example of what I have now said, The Queen *Catherine* his Mother having trusted his Education with Religious persons, honest Men indeed, and of Eminent Learning according to their profession, but unexperienced in th' Affairs of the World, and in the Science of Princes; Their greatest care was, t' imprint deeply into the Soul of this Prince, naturally valiant, the desire of making War to the *Mahometans*, and to Convert that great Principle of valour, wherewith he was born, to the Destruction of th' Infidels. This was truly very good, but the precepts were given him, and th' Impression made without Discretion and Choice, without Moderation and Rule, which spoyled the Goodness, and corrupted the Virtue of that Education; So the fruits, which it produced, were not beneficial to Religion, though it was his Principal End, but fatal t'his Countrey, which changed its Government, and fell under a yoak, which it hath since born with much Impatience, and at last shaken off, after the losse of all patience. As to *Ferdinands* vows, which are much esteemed by them, not to permit any Heretiques in the places of its Dominions, and to suppress the least Impressions there of Heresie; Not to speak of the Nature of those Actions, which may b' Excellent in themselves, I find great Imprudence in the Solemnity, and in that Eminent condition of Acting them publiquely, and to the knowledge of many persons. There are Actings indeed, which ought to

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Book III. b'Acted in the sight of the World, and Expos'd t'high Noon, and put, t'use our Saviours Comparison, in High places, as Cities built upon the Top of Mountains, that they may be the better seen, and that they, who shall see them, give God the Glory; And a Doctor that shall make a vow t'Apply himself wholly to the Combat of Heresies, and to purge the Spirits by his Doctrine of the venome, which is the more dangerous and mortal to them wh' are the least sensible of it at their Deaths, might perform an Act of great value, and a thing in some sort Heroique: But for a Soveraign Prince that would Exercise Proscriptions and Punishments against that kind of Diseases, not t' use greater Circumspection and Secresie than a particular person, and to publish his Zeal and declare his Design by some publique formality, what other things is it, than t' advise his Enemies to b'upon their Guards; Than t' awake them that sleep, lest they should be surprized; Than to give them the Will and the Leasure to put themselves into a posture of defence; To seek Friends and Protectors; to Fortifie themselves with Confœderations, And to Cast them into Despair, which is more to be feared than Courage? This hapned to the *Bohemians*, and 'tis the second spring of the *German* Troubles, which *Ferdinand* opened, and one of the principal Causes of th'Emotions in *Germany*, which continue to this day.

End of the third Book of the second Part.

FINIS.

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FINIS.